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POLITICAL CORRELATES OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS STUDENT POWER

by

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and
recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
for acceptance, a thesis entitled ....POLITICAL CORRELATES......
OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS STUDENT POWER
....
submitted by .....JEREMIAH WILLIAM EZEKIEL..................
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of Master of ...ARTS.

ABSTRACT

The research reported in this paper was under-
taken with a view to (1) ascertaining the content and
structure of attitudes towards student power; (2) asses-
sing the implications of certain political and "univer-
sity sentiment" variables in terms of the development
and/or maintenance of student power attitudes; and (3)
assessing the implications of attitudes towards student
power in terms of asserted willingness to engage in
militant modes of campus political activity.

The major instrument utilized in the study was
a paper-and-pencil questionnaire which was mailed to a
random sample of 1000 registered students at the
University of Alberta. Questionnaires were completed
and returned by 428 of the students sampled. The
major instrument included a large number of forced-
choice items which seemed to be related to attitudes
towards student power, and other items which seemed to
relate more to broader sentiments about the university
experience. All such items were generated in the light
of responses to open-ended questions on two pre-tests,
and had been refined somewhat following the analysis of
data from a third pre-test. The final questionnaire also
included a number of questions pertaining to partisan pol-
itical preferences, and to broader political dispositions

such as interest and sense of efficacy in politics.
The student power scales were further summarized in terms
of three dimensions: attitudes towards Organized Radical-
ism, attitudes towards Student Participation, and attitudes
towards Democratic Radicalism. The sentiment variables
were summarized in terms of two dimensions: Contentment
and Cynicism.

In separate analyses, each of the three student
power variables was utilized as the dependent variable
relative to Cynicism, Contentment, and the political
background variables. Using the Automatic Interaction
Detection technique, an attempt was made to account for
the maximum proportion of variance in the dependent
variable based on the optimum combination of independent
variables. In each analysis, Cynicism and Interest in
University Politics appeared to be key explanatory
variables, with an important secondary role being played
by the political efficacy and party preference variables.
Generally, positive attitudes towards each facet of
student power were associated with high Cynicism, high
Interest in University Politics, and N.D.P. party pref-
erences. Attitudes towards student power, considered in
conjunction with these explanatory factors, were generally
congruent with stated willingness to participate in various
modes of campus political activity.

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CHAPTER I

THE STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS STUDENT POWER:
CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This paper is addressed to the problem of determining the content and structure of students' attitudes towards "student power", and to the determination of the theoretically-assumed causes and consequences of those attitudes. Stated more bluntly, what is one "for" when one is "for" student power? Does such an attitude imply support --- tacit or otherwise --- for a radical student movement? Or does it merely imply that student representation on the university's Board of Governors should be increased? Does it imply that students should have the power to dismiss faculty members on the basis of classroom performance? Or does it imply that the established university authorities should introduce more flexibility into existing academic regulations? Given one or more of these attitudes, can they be explained in terms of pre-university political dispositions, or are they more likely to arise as a consequence of the university experience per se? Do such attitudes imply a willingness to involve oneself in campus activism, or are they relatively void of such implications? Focusing on a survey of students at the University of Alberta, some answers to these questions will

be proposed.

The starting point of phase one of the study --
completed in co-operation with an associate[1]-- is an initi-
ally tentative definition of the key term: student power.
The tentativeness is emphasized in that the study is under-
taken on the assumption that attitudes towards student power
are varied and complex, requiring for their measurement a
set of carefully developed operational definitions. One
assumes, in short, that individual students who are "for"
student power may be "for" very different things. Given this
predisposition, it is with some caution that an intuitive
and arbitrary definition is posited: student power is defined
as an ideology centered on the asserted desireability of
equal participation of students with faculty and administra-
tion in university decision making. While acknowledging
that equal student participation in decision making is not
the most salient issue of most student protest, we are in
agreement with Sampson[2] that "significant and meaningful
participation in the processes of decision making" appears
to be the common long range goal of student power advocates.
At the same time, one must not lose sight of the myriad of
problems inherent in defining student power. Nor can one
afford to ignore the many other plausible definitions of
the term. We shall use the working definition, then, keep-
ing in mind that we have imposed comparatively simple mean-
ing on a term characterized more by conceptual confusion.

The meaning of student power:
some problems

The past decade has seen the emergence of a variety
of political concepts which, whatever their normative impli-
cations, have posed a conceptual dilemma for political scien-
tists. Terms such as "black power", "student power", and
"people power" seem to have considerable relevance for certain
segments of the body politic. As such, they invite descrip-
tion and explanation -- particularly in so far as one believes
that a science of politics should be relevant to contemporary
political problems. At the same time, the variety of meanings
attached to these various concepts sometimes seems to be a
direct function of the number of people with whom one has
spoken about them. One finds oneself in the disconcerting
position of wishing to utilize a concept which has suspected
theoretical significance, but which has unspecified empirical
referents. Student power, like happiness, means different
things to different people.

This is not to suggest that social scientists have
been negligent in the study of student protest. In this
regard there is a modest body of original and insightful
research.[3] For the most part, such research focuses on
activist/non-activist dichotomies or on more elaborate (but
no less arbitrary) typologies. Characteristically, the
work is done on those campuses which are generally thought of
as the "vanguard" of the student movement; students at the

University of California at Berkeley, for example, are the subject matter of half the studies cited. The research procedure generally involves comparing "activists" and "non-activists" in terms of various factors such as agents of socialization; social, cultural, and religious background; partisan political disposition; intellectual ability; career-orientation; and so on, presumed to be causally important in determining their characteristic behavior.

Without pretending to exhaust the many interesting findings resulting from this research,[4] it will be sufficient to say that these several pioneering studies of student protestors present a rather consistent portrait of the student activist as an "ideal type." He is autonomous, independent of traditional morality and social conventions, responsive to cultural and esthetic concerns, and relatively open-minded. The activists' family background is upper middle-class, politically liberal, and permissive in terms of child rearing. The activist is intellectually oriented, does well academically, and tends to have broader social and political concerns than his fellow students. The activist student is found more in the social sciences and humanities than in the more career-oriented pursuits such as commerce and engineering.

We perceive two major weaknesses with this research --- weaknesses which we shall attempt to control for in the present study. In the first place, no attempt is made to

come to grips with the term "student power." The concept

remains elusive, though it seems obvious that the researchers

are seeking some understanding of the meaning of student

power and the student power movement. Yet, precise defini-

tions of the concept -- what it means to students and what

it means to the researchers -- are woefully lacking. What

do students who are "for" student power want? To be sure,

an effort is made to pinpoint incidents which apparently

triggered specific protests. But are there broader, long

term attitudinal dimensions which are antecedent to the

kinds of specific reactions the researchers describe? We

feel there are, and hope to move in that direction in this

study.

A second weakness involves the characteristic dichot-

omization, or further classification, of the student pop-

ulations being studied. Clearly, the campus community does

not neatly sort itself into "protestors", "non-protestors",

and "anti-protestors". Nor does "activist" or "non-activist"

adequately describe the range of commitment to student pol-

itical activity. One suspects that there are important

differences within those categories, and these differences

are pertinent to a better understanding of student politics.

It seems plausible, for example, that there are non-activists

who favor the idea of student power, although they are un-

willing to become personally involved in political activity;

and there are non-activists who have no interest whatsoever

in student politics and who are hostile to their activist

peers. It seems inadequate to lump two blatantly different kinds of "non-activism" into one category. An approach that allows for more refined differentiations is to be preferred.

Similarly, one suspects that activists themselves can be further differentiated along attitudinal dimensions. When one reports, for example, that three-quarters of the participants at a Berkeley demonstration indicated that the administration's handling of the Free Speech Movement was the strongest factor influencing their commitment,[5] the implications are open to speculation. Does this mean that students hold certain attitudes towards the way administrators perform their jobs, and the way they should perform their jobs, and that the occurrence of such attitudes is one of the things which will determine whether or not large numbers of students can be mobilized in the event of a specific grievance? Do attitudes towards more "academic" matters play a similar role? Are such attitudes related to a desire to participate in university decision making, or do they simply imply that those who do make the decisions should treat students with more fairness than they have displayed in the past?

Obviously, we have returned to the question of what students favor when they favor student power. In this regard, two points can be made a priori. In the first place, how an individual feels about student power is clearly a function of what the concept means to that individual. Conceivably, everyone might be "for" student power if everyone were left

to his own devices to define the concept. It is evident, for example, that if student power were equated with democracy, the distribution of opinion would vary from that observed if student power were equated with, say, radical control of major university institutions. Similarly, an individual might favor student power defined in terms of a greater voice for students in university decision making, while another individual might indicate indifference to student power, perceiving it as a vague abstraction somehow related to the university's role in the larger society. Yet, if attitudes towards student power are to be studied meaningfully, the researcher's initial, tentative definition must be altered to accommodate these many, varied interpretations of the concept.

Besides meaning different things to different individuals, student power can be interpreted differently by the same individual. He can favor student power in terms of an increased student voice in determining course content, and can reject student power in terms of student participation in the hiring and firing of faculty members. Where, then, does he "really" stand? He "really" stands in both places at the same time, and the research instrument must be broad enough to take this into account, and sensitive enough to measure the relative effects of each disposition in the formation of the overall attitude.

A somewhat analogous situation is illustrated in the development of the F-scale by Adorno et al.[6] That scale is presumed to measure authoritarianism, a concept which the original researchers assumed to be multi-dimensional. Two of those dimensions are authoritarian submission and authoritarian aggression. One assumes that it is logically possible for a subject to be "high" on one of these dimensions, "low" on the other, and so on for a total of four combinations. It seems reasonable to ask if the subject who scores low on authoritarian aggression and high on authoritarian submission is "really" authoritarian. The answer would probably be that both dimensions of general authoritarianism are summarized under the larger instrument. It must be added, however, that a fuller understanding of the meaning of authoritarianism would necessitate a careful study of the component parts -- or dimensions -- of the measure.

In the present research, we sought to gain a better understanding of the meaning of attitudes towards student power by developing a measure of those attitudes and, in the process, thereby specify the component parts of the measure and the ways in which they are interrelated. In the final analysis, moreover, one also would want to further broaden our understanding of attitudes toward student power by specifying certain of their determinants and certain of their consequences.

The causes and consequences
of attitudes towards student
power: some theoretical con-
siderations

Under what circumstances do favorable attitudes
towards student power arise? Are such attitudes necessar-
ily indicative of a willingness to engage in militant activ-
ity in seeking the realization of student power goals? What
variables can be expected to be significant links in this
causal chain? While these questions can be answered neither
definitively nor confidently on an a priori basis, some
speculation is in order. One must, after all, select certain
variables for analysis while ignoring a multitude of others
which could conceivably be of equal or greater predictive
power. On what basis does one make this selection?

First, the basis for selection is necessarily a
function of what one perceives to be the content of attitudes
towards student power. This presents obvious difficulties:
while we assume the existence of a constellation of attitudes
towards that set of activities summarized by the term "stu-
dent power", we have nevertheless set out professing ignor-
ance of the content of those attitudes, claiming that the
study is geared to the partial removal of this limitation.
At this point, one must rely on the tentative definition
of student power in terms of equal student participation
with faculty and administration in all decisions affecting
students. It shall be borne in mind, of course, that

attitudes towards student power are likely to be more varied and complex than this working definition would suggest.

Given this caveat, what factors can one expect to have a causal and/or supportive role as regards the formation and maintenance of the student power attitudinal complex? In the first place, one can view student power as a phenomenon that is largely political -- in the sense that concern for student power is determined by interest in politics, feelings of efficacy in politics, and so on -- and is colored ideologically as a result of "normal" partisan orientations. In this situation, attitudes towards student power would be thought of as an extension of more general political orientations. The campus political scene is merely a continuation, as it were, of the "outside" political system.

Thus, one could hypothesize that favorable attitudes towards student power arise as a consequence of high interest in politics, a high sense of efficacy in politics, and more liberal partisan preferences. (This is not to suggest that other hypotheses of this nature would be less plausible.) One could expand further by differentiating between interest in national politics and interest in university politics, and between sense of efficacy in national or university politics. Still further modifications could be introduced with the specification of the component parts of the student power attitudinal constellation. The resultant set of hypotheses would be an elaborate one, and might include rather specific prop-

ositions in which differing dimensions of attitudes towards
student power are presumed to be related to various combin-
ations of interest in national or university politics,
efficacy in national or university politics, and partisan
political preference.

Without venturing into such an elaborate conceptual
net, it is apparent that the central proposition to be tested
would be as follows: attitudes towards student power arise
as a consequence of politicization which can be assumed to
occur largely outside the university environment. In more
concrete terms, the student arrives on campus "a political
animal" of one stripe or another, and responds to new polit-
ical stimuli in much the same way that he responded to (or
was taught that he should respond to) political stimuli in
the larger society. These responses are not significantly
modified by his personal experience with faculty, administra-
tors, or, indeed, fellow students. Thus, if he is a "leftist"
upon entering the university, he is "left" in student polit-
ics; if he is initially politically indifferent, he remains
so. His response to the issues raised within the context of
student power has already been determined.[7]

A second set of variables that might be instrumental
in explaining attitudes towards student power are largely
void of overt political content. Here, the central proposi-
tion might be that the concern for student power is determin-
ed by personal, within-university experiences. The develop-

ment of attitudes towards student power would be assumed to occur regardless of political interest, sense of efficacy, or partisan preference. One would propose, in effect, that the university itself is the caldron within which attitudes towards student power are shaped, and that this shaping is not influenced to any great extent by the political ingredients discussed in the previous paragraph. Thus, one can conceive of students arriving on a university campus with diverse attitudes towards the several political parties, and with varying degrees of interest in politics. These same students are confronted with various stimuli pertaining in a very broad sense to student power: campus radicals, student elections, and a myriad of issues related to the distribution of power within the university, the university's role in society, the student's role in the university, the quality and meaning of university education, and so on. It might be argued that, in their responses to such stimuli, students are differentiated not by "normal" political orientations, but by their experiences with and reactions to ostensibly non-political factors.

What might some of these factors be? It seems plausible that the degree to which one is happy or unhappy at university might be one of them, though the direction of such a relationship would almost certainly be open to debate. It might be suggested, for example, that those who are simply unhappy with university life are likely to seek some redress of this state of affairs in militant political activity. If

one just "doesn't like" being in such an environment, this
dislike could plausibly result in a rejection of the highly
visible authority relations characteristic of a university.
Others might argue that those who are comparatively happier
would be more likely candidates for political involvement;
here, "not liking" university might be thought of as symp-
tomatic of deeper personal problems demanding time and ener-
gy that might otherwise be invested into political activity.
In either case, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with univer-
sity life might prove to be an important predictor of attitudes
towards student power. Other variables -- such as loneliness
or dissatisfaction with friendship relations -- would fit
the same schema.

Similarly, one might ask if factors such as career
orientation are important indicators of attitudes towards
student power. Are those who lack specific career goals
embittered by the failure of the university to give their
lives a sense of direction, and consequently hostile toward
university authorities? Are they likely to be apathetic,
intellectually and politically, and thus disinterested in
broader student participation in university decision making?
Are they more intellectually-oriented and thus disillusioned
with a perceived career-oriented, job-training educational
institution? Again, it seems reasonable to expect some rela-
tionship, though the specification of its nature is highly
speculative.

Finally, one could ask if attitudes towards student power are determined by personal experiences with faculty and administrators. Does one come to mistrust the motives of faculty and administrators, and consequently opt for a bigger student share of decision making power? Or does one endorse student power for largely ideological reasons, without necessarily implying a set of personal grievances against faculty and/or administrators? In short, are attitudes towards student power significantly determined by the "nitty gritty" frustrations of coping with the academic and bureaucratic framework within which education takes place?

These, then, are plausible non-political explanatory factors which might be incorporated into a study of attitudes towards student power. They relate to the non-political social orientations of the individual to his immediate environment -- that is, his _sentiments_ about that environment. The central proposition, of course, is that these sentiment variables will have political implications in terms of the student power attitudinal complex, and that these political implications are operative notwithstanding factors such as partisan preference, interest in politics, or sense of efficacy in politics.[8]

Having differentiated two sets of plausible explanatory variables[9] which might enter into causal or supportive relationships with attitudes towards student power, one must caution that factors such as these are not necessarily independent of one another. Just as one might argue that "left

wing" party preferences are likely to be associated with
concern for student power regardless of personal experience
in the university environment, so also one might argue that
sentiment factors might interact with "moderate" party pref-
erences in the radicalization of students. Accordingly, we
propose to include both types of variables in subsequent
stages of the research. In so doing, one can assess the rel-
ative predictive power of each, as well as determine inter-
action effects among the political variables, among the sent-
iment variables, and across the two broad categories.

In addition to specifying the circumstances under
which attitudes towards student power arise, one would also
wish to extend the causal chain to modes of activist pro-
pensity. Initially, one would wish to determine whether the
components of attitudes towards student power are different-
ially related to an avowed willingness to act in a militant
fashion in support of student power goals. Secondly, one
could assess the nature of interactions among different
variables in the determination of militant potential. Atti-
tudes towards student power could conceivably interact with
the more general attitudes towards the university experience
(the sentiment variables). Attitudes towards student power
could be considered in conjunction with the political varia-
bles in assessing the presumed causes of avowed militancy.
Indeed, it is conceivable that those whose "outside" politics
are radical will tend to be potentially militant regardless

of their attitudes towards the issues raised within the
context of student power.

We emerge, then, with a causal framework that
be analyzed in two basic stages: the political variables and
the sentiment variables as determinants of attitudes towards
student power; and the student power variables in conjunc-
tion with either the political variables or the sentiment
variables or both in the determination of propensity to
engage in militant campus political activity. This remains
a mere skeleton of a theoretical framework in that further
explication must await the specification of the dimensions
of attitudes towards student power, and of attitudes towards
the university experience, in general, in the later part of
this thesis.

Nevertheless, it seems worthwhile to close off the
present chapter by providing the reader with brief previews
of the topics to be discussed in each of the remaining chap-
ters, thereby presenting an overview of what is to come in
the ensuing pages.

Chapter Two covers the discussion of the research
design and procedures used in collecting data for the study.
The drafting of the questionnaire instruments used, the pre-
testing of those instruments, and the selection of the final
sample of students to be studied are all topics that are
given detailed treatment there.

In Chapter Three, we take a closer look at the devel-

opment of the several attitude scales that are ultimately used in tracing out the structure of the student power belief system as well as that constellation of attitudes that we have previously referred to as "sentiment variables". Here we take up the item composition of the scales developed by application of factor analytic methods to a wider set of attitude items.

The structural interrelations among the student power scales -- using sum-scores from the Likert-type scales discussed in Chapter Three -- are investigated in Chapter Four, again by the use of factor analysis. This chapter also contains a similar treatment of the sentiment variables attitude domain. Some discussion of the kind of psychological space which might fit the two attitude domains is presented as well.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of the political background variables: interest in national politics and in university politics, sense of political efficacy in national as well as university level politics, and partisan political preferences, at both the Federal and the Provincial levels. Of special concern will be the relationships between the two political interest variables, between sense of efficacy in national and university level politics, and between the two levels of party preference.

In Chapter Six, we assess the causal implications, if any, of the party preference and interest/efficacy varia-

bles in the determination and/or maintenance of the student

power belief system. Similarly, we examine the causal imp-

lications of the university sentiment variables in the determ-

ination of attitudes towards student power. Also, an assess-

ment will be given of the interaction effects within and

between each of the two sets of explanatory variables.

Chapter Seven is addressed to the problem of why

some students appear more willing to engage in various modes

of militant campus activity than do others. In attempting

to account for levels of avowed militancy, we shall assess

the relative predictive power of attitudes towards student

power considered independently, and in conjunction with the

political and sentiment variables discussed previously.

Chapter Eight includes a summary of the major find-

ings of the research, an assessment of the theoretical and

practical implications, and some reflection on future pos-

sibilities in the field of student attitude studies.

To sum up, phase one of the research involved the

development of a set of empirically-defined student power

concepts, while phase two assessed the significance of the

concepts in terms of their statistically significant rela-

tionships with other variables. We move, now into a more

detailed discussion of the research methods employed in phase

one.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter I

[1]All preliminary stages of this research -- up to the analysis of data from the final questionnaire -- were completed in full co-operation with another graduate student in the Department of Political Science (University of Alberta), Sharon Sutherland. Her Master's thesis was drawn from this data also, and dealt with a variety of socio-biographical correlates of the dimensions of affect for student power. Because this was a joint project, of necessity there will be considerable overlap in the introductory chapters of the respective works. Where feasible, such repetition will be minimized, with some phases of the research being reported more briefly in the present study. In such cases, the reader will be referred to the appropriate material in Miss Sutherland's thesis. For the moment, it should be noted that chapter two of this paper is roughly analogous to chapters two and three of the Sutherland paper. See: Sharon Sutherland Winkelaar, "Dimensions of Attitudes Toward Student Power and Toward the University Experience, and Some Socio-Biographical Correlates of the Former", unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1969.

[2]Edward E. Sampson, "Student Activism and the Decade of Protest", Journal of Social Issues, XXIII, No. 3 (July, 1967), pp. 20-21.

[3]See for example: Richard Flacks, "The Liberated Generation: An Exploration of the Roots of Student Protest", Journal of Social Issues, XXIII, No. 3 (July, 1967), pp. 52-76; Paul Heist, "Intellect and Commitment: The Faces of Discontent", in O.W. Knorr and W. J. Minter, eds., Order and Freedom on the Campus: The Rights and Responsibilities of Faculty and Students (Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1965); Glen Lyonns, "The Police Car Demonstration: A Survey of Participants", in Lipset and Wolin, eds., The Berkeley Student Revolt (New York: Doubleday, 1965), pp. 530-559; George Paulus, "A Multivariate Analysis Study of Student Activist Leaders, Student Government Leaders, and Non-Activists", unpublished doctoral dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967; Richard Peterson, "The Student Left in American Higher Education", Daedalus (Winter, 1968), pp. 293-317; Frederick Solomon and Jacob Fishman, "A Psychological Study of Student Peace Demonstrators in Washington", Journal of Social Issues, XX (1964), pp. 54-73; William Watts and David Whittaker, "Free Speech Advocates at Berkeley", Journal of Applied Behavioral Science (1966), pp. 41-66; David Westby and Richard Braungart, "Class and Politics in the Family Backgrounds of

Student Political Activists", <u>American Sociological Review</u>, XXXI (1966), pp. 690-692; R. H. Somers, "The Mainsprings of the Rebellion: A Survey of Berkeley Students in November, 1964", in Lipset and Wolin, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 530-557.

[4]For more complete summaries, see: Sutherland, <u>op. cit.</u>; Edward E. Sampson, ed., <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>, XXIII, No. 3 (July, 1967).

[5]Lyonns, <u>op.cit.</u>

[6]T. W. Adorno <u>et al.</u>, <u>The Authoritarian Personality</u> (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1950).

[7]The concepts "interest in politics", "sense of political efficacy", and party preference have long enjoyed a revered place in political science research. Generally speaking, each has been found to be related to the more involving forms of political participation. As regards the literature on student protest, it is generally asserted -- either <u>ipso facto</u>, or as a result of data analysis -- that student activists are more aware of and more interested in social and political issues than are their non-activist peers. For data-based assertions to this effect, see the articles by Paulus, and Solomon and Fishman cited above. In the matter of partisan politics, it is usually found that activists come from Democratic rather than Republican back- grounds (Flacks, <u>op.cit.</u>; Westby and Braungert, <u>op.cit.</u>). To our knowledge, the concept "sense of political efficacy" has not been used previously in the study of student activists. More general studies tend to show, however, that sense of political efficacy correlates positively with political participation. See Robert E. Lane, <u>Political Life</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1959), pp. 147-155.

[8]Parallels to these variables are found from time to time in the student power literature. Flacks, <u>op.cit.</u>, found that non-activist students were "typically" firmly decided on a career whereas activists were "very frequently" unde- cided. Other research suggests, however, that activists and non-activists are not differentiated in terms of satisfaction with their college education. See, for example, James W. Trent and Judith L. Craise, "Commitment and Conformity in the American College", <u>Journal of Social Issues</u>, XXIII, No. 3 (July, 1967), pp. 34-51; and Kenneth Keniston, "The Sources of Student Dissent", <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 108-135.

It might be noted that other researchers have relied heavily on ostensibly non-political measures to explain differences between activists and non-activists. These in- clude "romanticism" (Flacks, <u>op.cit.</u>), "intellectual dispos- ition" (Trent and Craise, <u>op.cit.</u>), esthetic concerns (Heist,

op.cit.), and social awareness (Paulus, op.cit.). Concern-
ing strictly within-university factors, Trent and Craise
contend that "college can provide the environment for person-
ality growth in just those character traits that distinguish
student activists from their more conforming college counter-
parts." (Emphasis theirs. Op.cit., p. 34).

[9]There are, of course, other types of variables which
could be incorporated into the study -- most notably "auth-
oritarian" versus "democratic" family background, socio-
economic status, grades, course of study, and so on. For a
discussion of relationships between these types of variables
and attitudes towards student power, see Sutherland, op.cit.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURES

Of the many research techniques available to con-
temporary social scientists -- for example, controlled exper-
imentation, "in depth" interviewing, content analysis, or
aggregate data analysis, to name a few -- a survey research
design was selected for the present study. The key reason
for this selection was the researchers' desire to avoid foc-
using exclusively on the more visible campus minorities char-
acteristically described as "protestors" and "anti-protestors".
Instead, we wished to know more about the content and struc-
ture of attitudes towards student power for all students at
the University of Alberta -- regardless of their position
on the perennial "radical-conservative" continuum. How do
"ordinary" students feel about student power? Do they lend
more tacit support to the student power movement than is
sometimes realized? Are student radicals "a small minority
of trouble-makers" from whom most students are alienated?
Does the student power movement have much growth potential
in terms of its appeal to the frustrations and grievances
of the majority of students? Is the student power belief
system characteristic only of "visible" radicals, or is it
characteristic of larger numbers of students?

These, we felt, were questions which could be approached most efficiently and most economically through survey research. A survey would necessarily include a broader cross-section of students than could be reasonably incorporated into a laboratory setting. Similarly, techniques such as "depth interviewing" and content analysis would necessarily impose severe limitations on the selection of students for the study. A survey, moreover, would not only involve a broader cross-section of students from the very beginning, but could permit generalizations to the entire student population at the university. The latter advantage, of course, would depend on the representativeness of the sample.

Having chosen the sample survey approach to the study of attitudes towards student power, there remained the large problem of setting the content of the instrument in such a way that the attitude areas of interest would be tapped. At least two approaches were immediately apparent: the content could be determined in an entirely arbitrary fashion by the researchers; or the content could be limited to broad, open-ended questions which, presumably, would capture the richness and complexity of attitudes towards student power. Both these approaches were unacceptable.

In the first place, the researchers had no wish to impose a definition of student power on the population being studied, a point amply emphasized in the previous chapter.

It was felt that such an imposition would undermine the whole intent of the study by eliminating in advance any possibility of assessing the variety and complexity of attitudes towards the concept. At the same time, open-ended questions were rejected because it was felt that such an approach would involve an inordinate reliance on subjective interpretations at the coding stage.

As an alternative, a technique was used which sought to incorporate the advantages of two approaches: the scope of open-ended questions with the precision and non-subjectivity of forced-choice responses. Ultimately, this would involve the replacement of a limited number of open-ended questions with a large number of closed questions. The understanding was that the utilization of forced-choice questions on the final questionnaire would be justified only if a reasonable effort had been made to insure that the "universe" of student power attitudes had been sampled. No such sample would be perfect, of course, but the collection of opinions from open-ended questionnaire items seemed to be a good beginning.

Some preliminary field work

In October, 1968, two brief questionnaires were drawn up and administered to three Political Science classes and one English class (in all a total of some 100 students) at the University of Alberta. The first of these exploratory questionnaires was administered to one second-year

and two introductory Political Science classes.[1] This first exploratory questionnaire consisted simply of a line divided into seven units, each unit indicating a different degree of student involvement in university decision-making. Subjects were told that the respective extremes on this continuum indicated either satisfaction with the status quo in terms of student decision-making involvement, or equal participation of students with faculty and administration in all decisions affecting students.

Each student was invited to circle one point on the line indicating "how much" student power he favored. The subject then was asked to articulate, in a few sentences, the meaning of his chosen position -- that is, how he felt his position contrasted with other possibilities on the continuum, or with any scale of values he wished to draw into the discussion. Subjects were further encouraged to add any other comments they felt were relevant. (And many did!)

A second exploratory questionnaire was drawn up and administered to a senior English class. The second questionnaire differed from the first in two respects. First, rather than pertaining to student power per se, the second questionnaire was designed to relate more to general attitudes towards the university experience, as well as to one's conception of the student's role in university. Secondly, this questionnaire contained no reference whatsoever to our tentative definition of student power in terms of equal student participation in university decision making.

The questionnaire consisted of 13 open-ended statements which respondents were invited to complete. Again, supplementary comments were encouraged. To avoid structuring responses, the 13 statements were deliberately vague and general, as the following examples illustrate:

The university is . . . .
My reasons for remaining in university are . . . .
The university should be . . . .
My role at the university is . . . .

Responses on the two exploratory questionnaires suggested a wide variety of themes which might form the basis for items on the final questionnaire -- items which should tap the various facets of the student power attitudinal complex, and the various facets of the university sentiment attitude domain. Responses ranged from general statements of the problems connected with "going to university" to specific statements such as "If I needed a letter of recommendation I wouldn't know any professor well enough to ask for one." In terms of student power per se, comments ran the gamut from "Some changes in the university may be important enough to justify student resort to violence," to "Only naive, immature students would want to question the decisions of faculty and administration." The problem was to transform these comments into a more or less precise set of measurements.

The variety of themes implicit in responses to the

open-ended questionnaire items underscored the necessity
of a screening process. Needless to say, there were
practical limitations on the number of items which could
be included in the final questionnaire. At the same time,
it was important that the latter instrument "cover the
waterfront" to the extent that this was possible.

To facilitate the latter goal, the themes suggested
by the open-ended questionnarie responses were typed on
cards and sorted into categories by a panel of four judges
(including the two researchers, and two professional pol-
itical scientists). The sorting was done on the assumption
that certain themes were highly similar and were indicative,
in effect, of a single underlying dimension either of
attitudes towards student power, or of attitudes towards
the university experience in general.[2] Certain themes, for
example, revolved solely around student radicals and were
otherwise void of issue content. Other themes centered
around the ideal of democracy and its applicability to a
university setting. These appeared to be different attitud-
inal dimensions of a single belief system.

The subjective categorization alluded to became the
basis for the development of items to be utilized, ultimate-
ly, in the final questionnaire. In most cases, these items
were statements extracted (more or less intact) from responses
to the open-ended questions posed on the two exploratory
questionnaires. This was particularly so in the case of

statements that had been made repeatedly, in more or less the same form, on the exploratory questionnaires. Other themes were refined by the researchers in order that they might be utilized as relatively straight-forward items on a subsequent questionnaire. Double-barrelled statements, for example, were broken down into their component parts, and efforts were made to clarify other ambiguous statements.

Further to this, the categories were used to develop items that were entirely "new". Some categories, for example, contained only two or three items. In such cases one could not assume confidently the existence of still another attitudinal dimension. Several of these "minor" categories were intriguing, however, and it was at least conceivable that similar, more definite patterns would emerge in the analysis of data from a more representative sample. To provide for this possibility, some of the minor categories were supplemented with items written by the researchers. Additional items were also written with a view to balancing positively and negatively-worded statements within all categories.

Up to this point, the analysis of data from the exploratory questionnaires left us with a number of themes which, in turn, were categorized into suspected dimensions of attitudes towards student power, and towards the more general sentiments spoken of previously. On the basis of these categorizations, forced-choice questionnaire items

were written. In many cases these items were created from
the "raw materials" supplied by students in the form of
open-ended questionnaire responses. In other cases, items
were written as a result of the padding and refinement of
certain categories as described above.

These preliminary stages of data gathering resulted
in a total of 273 items. Each of these items was a plausible
candidate for inclusion in a set of measures presumed to
tap the student power and sentiment attitudinal complexes.
Clearly, however, it was not feasible to include this entire
battery of items in a final questionnaire along with a myriad
of questions pertaining to the student's social, political,
and familial background. Consequently, a third pre-test
was necessary to pare down the number of items, selecting
those which seemed to indicate most clearly that they cov-
ered a homogeneous area of attitude content. Items which
survived this screening process would be included in the
final questionnaire.

All 273 items were included in the third pre-test.
In this instance three "closed" response categories were
used: "agree", "neither agree nor disagree", and "disagree".
This questionnaire was administered to two senior classes
in Political Science, and to one introductory English class
for science students. This yielded a total of 89 usable
returns. Responses to each of the items were weighted on
a "one, two, three" basis, for agreement, indecision, and

disagreement, respectively.

The next step in the screening process involved the analysis of the 273 items with a view to discovering patterns of responses in the data -- patterns which would suggest that specific clusters of items were tapping the same attitude area. Factor analysis seemed to be the most appropriate tool for this task. Unfortunately, there was no factor analysis computer program available to the researchers that could handle more than 100 variables. It was necessary, then, to analyze the data from the third pretest in a fragmentary fashion. Thus, the 273 items were factor analyzed in sets of 100 variables,[3] a procedure that resulted in several factor structures rather than one. This was an unfortunate limitation. If all 273 items had been analyzed together, one could speak of patterns of responses that persisted throughout the data. Given the fragmentary approach necessitated by technical limitations, one could only speak of patterns of responses within each of the sets of 100 items. It is entirely possible that those patterns would have been substantially altered, had the 273 items been analyzed en masse. It is also possible that other, more "significant" patterns would have emerged had factors been rotated through the entire 273 by 273 correlation matrix.

The only remedial option which seemed open at that point was an imperfect one. Patterns could be compared

across the several factor structures, and items which did

not appear to be part of a coherent pattern in any of the

factor structures would be eliminated. An example may clar-

ify the procedure. In each of the several factor structures,

a clear "anti-radicalism" dimension emerged. Items which

seemed most characteristic of this dimension -- that is,

items which loaded highly on the several "anti-radicalism"

factors -- were retained. A similar procedure was follow-

ed in the case of items which seemed to tap other dimen-

sions (though not all dimensions, or patterns, emerged in

each of the several factor structures). The items thus

selected were included in the final survey instrument, while

the residue were excluded from further analysis. Following

this partially subjective procedure, the original 273 items

were reduced to a more manageable 97. These 97 items were

incorporated into the final questionnaire and would form

the content basis for a set of scales to tap attitudes

towards student power, and towards the general university

experience.[4]

In addition to the 97 student power and university-

oriented items, the final questionnaire included a number of

measures borrowed from other researchers -- most notably,

measures such as Self-Esteem, Sensitivity to Criticism,

General Mental Health, and so on. Most of these were inclu-

ded with an eye toward future data analysis. In the present

work, we shall focus on more explicitly "political" variables.

These can be described as follows:

Interest in University Politics. -- This is a two-item measure consisting of the statements "I am interested in university and student politics" and "I try to take time out for student debates and political meetings."

Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. -- This consists of a single item: "University administrators and faculty pay very little attention to people like myself in making decisions about the university."

Interest in National Politics. -- This is a three-item measure including statements such as "I am interested in national political affairs" and "I discuss national politics and government with my friends."

Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. -- This is a three-item measure including statements such as "I don't think public officials and government leaders care much about what people like me think" and "Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like myself can't really understand what is going on."

General Militancy. -- This is a six-item measure, borrowed from Susan Harvey[5], dealing with strategic options open to students. Respondents are asked what they would do in the face of a perceived legitimate grievance against the university administration. Six strategies are listed,

ranging from participation in a violent demonstration, rais-
ing or signing a petition, to discussing the issue "with
professors you know." The respondent is asked to indicate
which and how many of these options he feels are open to him.
It should be emphasized that respondents were posed a hypo-
thetical question, and answers are not necessarily indicative
of or predictive of, actual behavior. Accordingly, we shall
speak, from time to time, of "avowed militancy" or "potential
militancy", lest one lose sight of this qualification.

Partisan Political Preference. -- These are two
items pertaining to federal and provincial party preferences.
In separate questions, the respondent was asked which federal
and which provincial political party he "generally preferred."
Respondents were not asked which federal or provincial party
they actually voted for; it was assumed most of them were
ineligible to vote at the time (i.e., in May, 1969).

In addition to these political background variables,
it was assumed, of course, that a set of measures of atti-
tudes towards student power would emerge from the analysis
of data from the final questionnaire. It was assumed fur-
ther that measures of more general university-oriented sent-
iments would also emerge.

Selection of the sample

Although the importance of utilizing a representative
cross-section of students was underscored in the beginning

of this chapter, in the end it was necessary to settle for something less than a true random sample (in terms of questionnaire returns). This was so because university had been dismissed for the summer by the time the final questionnaire was ready, and because neither the time nor the money was available to interview students individually. As a result, questionnaires were mailed out and no follow-up letters were used -- a further consequence of time and resource limitations.

A systematic random sample of 1,000 full-time students at the University of Alberta was drawn from the Home Address Coding Book at the Registrar's office. The full-time student population at the university was 15,290. The sample included one out of every 15 students, starting with the nth individual, and with n determined by a table of random numbers. After the initial selection of 100 students, a new n was drawn from the table of random numbers and a second set of 100 students was sampled. This procedure continued until the full sample had been drawn.

The return ratio was about 44 percent, including about 20 returns which were not usable because of missing information. The remaining 428 questionnaires were complete, and would be the source of data for the remainder of the study. To this end, responses were coded and punched on computer cards. Since all items at this stage employed a closed response categories format, pre-coding was possible

and thus the coding process involved very few problems.

For obvious reasons, the return ratio caused some concern about the representativeness of the sample. Clearly, there had been an element of self-selection involved. While the extent of that bias would never be precisely known, it was possible to compare the returns, the sample, and the total population in terms of known distributions of certain variables. The variables were sex, number of years in attendence at university, and faculty. This information was requested in the questionnaire itself, and was given for each student in the Home Address Coding Book from which the sample was originally drawn. Moreover, the information was readily available in aggregate form from the university administration.

The results of these comparisons are reported fully in Appendix A. Briefly, there are three major points to note. First, the sample itself seemed to be an accurate model of the population as a whole, judging by observed and expected frequency comparisons for the variables in question. Differences were minimal, and were attributable to chance. Secondly, the returns were representative of the sample selected on criteria of sex and faculty, but not on the criterion of number of years at university. Those who had been in attendance for four years or more were over-represented, while those in attendance for three years or less were under-represented. Finally, the returns were repre-

sentative of the total student population on the criterion
of sex, but not on the criteria of faculty, and number of
years in attendance at university. In the latter case,
differences are understandable, given the deviation between
the returns and the sample, For faculty, it is apparent that
return patterns confounded minor deviations between the sample
drawn and the total population.

Whatever else may be said, clearly this is not an
entirely satisfactory cross-section. The returns do not
constitute a true random sample of the student population
at the University of Alberta. This imposes a severe limita-
tion on any pretense to generalize from the 428 students
to the entire student population from which the sample was
drawn. Nonetheless, the returns do include a wide range of
diverse student opinion. While the analysis of this data
will not constitute a precise picture of what all students
at the university think, a significant step has been taken
in that direction.

Chapter II

[1]Political science classes were selected for their obvious "availability". An effort was made, however, to select Political Science classes that included large numbers of students whose major interest was not Political Science. The classes actually selected for this pre-test and for pre-test three, for example, included large numbers of Commerce and pre-Law students.

[2]For a more detailed treatment of this categorization process, see Sutherland, op.cit., pp. 33-39.

[3]There was considerable overlap between sets. The first set of 100 variables included items one to 100. The second set included items 50-150. The third set included items 100 to 200. And so on.

[4]These procedures are discussed more fully in Sutherland, op.cit., pp. 40-48.

[5]Dr. Susan K. Harvey, University of Alberta, 1969.

CHAPTER III

THE CONTENT OF THE STUDENT POWER AND SENTIMENT

ATTITUDE SCALES

The final questionnaire utilized in this study
included 97 items that would form the content basis for
a set of attitude scales. It was assumed that some of those
scales would tap the student power attitudinal domain, while
others would relate more to general university attitudes --
i.e., the sentiment domain. Accordingly, the first step in
the processing of data from the final survey instrument in-
volved the specification of the content of the respective
measures.

Once again, our major concern was the discovery of
patterns of responses in the data. To the extent that such
patterns "made sense" intuitively, the researchers were pre-
pared to say that a specific cluster of items covered a rel-
atively homogeneous area of attitude content. Thus, a two-
pronged approach was taken. Initially, the items were factor-
analyzed in order that the existence of response patterns
might be determined objectively. Secondly, those items which
seemed to "hang together" best -- in terms of factor loadings,
and in items of intuitive appeal -- were included in the
respective attitude scales.

Though highly subjective, the "intuitive appeal" criterion was considered indispensable. Factor analysis would reveal algebraic regularities in the data, but it seemed foolhardy to suggest that any set of algebraic regularities was necessarily indicative of an attitudinal dimension, regardless of what little theoretical sense could be made of the regularities. Accordingly, we have not utilized factor analysis as a single, terminal indicator of the content of our attitude scales. Instead, factor analysis is used as an initial indicator of item clusters, while the final decision about scale content is made in the light of partially subjective considerations.

The initial factor analysis of the 97 student power and sentiment items was problematical. Specifically, the item cluster defined by the first factor made no sense either intuitively, or in the light of the analysis of pre-test data. Upon checking the frequency distributions of items loading highly on this factor, it was revealed that several of the items drew near-unanimous responses. In other words, some of the items did not appear to meaningfully differentiate students on the agree-disagree continuum.

Accordingly, it was decided that such poor discriminators would be eliminated from further analysis. The following rule of thumb was used: items for which one of the directional response categories (i.e., agree or disagree) included fewer than five percent of the sample were excluded

from subsequent analysis. This resulted in the elimination
of 12 items, along with one other item excluded on grounds
of its ambiguous interpretation by the respondents.[1]

Because these 13 items had apparently confounded the
initial factor structure, a second factor analysis was per-
formed on the 84 remaining items to explore the dimension-
ality of the item content. The resultant factor structure
became the basis for the selection of items for the various
student power and sentiment attitude scales. Although this
selection process has been described in detail elsewhere[2],
a brief description of the procedure is in order here.

First, each cluster of items that made intuitive
sense -- i.e., each interpretable factor -- was assumed to
be indicative of a relatively homogenous area of attitude
content. In other words, each interpretable factor became
the basis for positing the existence of a specific attitud-
inal dimension in either the student power or the sentiment
domain.

Secondly, each interpretable factor became the basis
for the selection of items for inclusion in the resultant
set of attitude scales. Two major criteria were considered.
On the one hand, only those items which had loadings of .30
or greater[3] on a specific factor were considered as candidates
for inclusion in the resultant attitude scale. Nevertheless,
when examination of general item content of a cluster suggested
that the loading of a particular item connected with that

cluster might be artifactual, that item was dropped. It should be noted, however, that the latter criterion was used in only a few instances.

Finally, having eliminated "problematical" items, the remaining items within each cluster were used in the subsequent attitude measures. Each of these scales was "named" in accordance with whatever general theme seemed to best characterize its item content. In that regard, particular emphasis was given to those items which had loaded most highly on the principal factor on which the cluster was originally delineated.

These procedures resulted in the specification of 10 scales -- some which were assumed to measure attitudes towards the various facets of student power, and others which were assumed to measure more general university sentiments. The 10 sets of items were utilized as Likert-type scales, in the sense that items were weighted equally and summed in order to place individuals on an agreement-disagreement continuum with regards to the attitude object in question. The content of these 10 scales is reported in Tables 1 to 10, along with item loadings on the principal factor on which each cluster was delineated. Items for which the agree response indicates the presence of the var-iable or trait in question were weighted "two, one, and zero" for agreement, indecision, and disagreement, respect-ively. Items for which the disagree response indicates the

presence of the variable or trait in question were reverse-scored (i.e., zero, one, and two, for agreement, indecision, and disagreement). The latter items are asterisked in the tables.

The following are descriptions of the ten attitude scales, along with some brief comments on the frequency distributions associated with the summated scores. These distributions are presented visually in frequency polygons (Figures 1 to 10) following each table.

The Anti-Radicalism Scale. -- This scale consists of 14 items which stress hostility towards radical students and radical student politics. For the most part, the items are void of specific issue content, and are addressed instead to a rejection of the perceived tactics of radical students, and to a rejection of the most visible radical element on campus -- the Students for A Democratic University (S.D.U.).

The possible range of scores on this scale was zero to 28, and the actual distribution covered this entire range. Figure 1 indicates that the Anti-Radicalism distribution was somewhat skewed, with a mean of 15.8 and a median of 15.9. Overall, the sample was characterized more by Anti-Radicalism than by Pro-Radicalism.

The Administrative Student Power Scale. -- This five-item cluster seems to imply a concern for student participation in decision-making at the university. The items most characteristic of the cluster mention the need for student

TABLE 1

THE ANTI-RADICALISM SCALE

.703[b]	If the radical students had anything to say, they wouldn't find it necessary to attract attention by freakish dress and hair styles.
.695	The greatest obstacle to meaningful change at this university is the S.D.U. because its irresponsible membership antagonizes faculty and administration.
.687	Radical students are a bigger threat to the ordinary student than are the faculty and administrators.
.660	If the student radicals care so much about suffering, they should go where the action really is, like our own Indian reserves, Viet Nam, or South America, instead of stirring up unnecessary trouble in the university.
-.551	S.D.U.'s demands for student power are realistic, and should be supported by the student body in general.*
.543	Marxist cliches and intellectual jargon are so much a part of the student radicals' vocabulary that their view of reality is distorted.
.530	It would probably be best for the university if faculty and administrators took a hard line with student power advocates.
-.499	Generally speaking, the S.D.U. people have a pretty good understanding of the way this university is run.*
-.452	Students should have as much say in running the university as "older and more experienced" faculty and administrators.*
.438	Student opinion ought to be considered and weighed, but the university's final decisions must always remain faculty right and responsibility.
-.394	A show of power may be the only way some faculty and administrators can be convinced of the sincerity of student desires to share in the running of the university.*
-.369	Power in university decision-making, not influence, is what students should aspire to.*
.340	Radical students would probably dominate any student attempts to participate in the running of the university.
.315	The existing Students Union is an adequate means for presenting student demands to the university.

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.

*Reverse-scored item.

TABLE 2

THE ADMINISTRATIVE STUDENT POWER SCALE

.654[b]   Students don't need a vote on the university's Board
of Governors.*

.618   If students had votes in the university's official
governing bodies, they probably wouldn't know
what to do with them.*

.454   Students already have a big enough voice in univers-
ity affairs.*

.431   Decision-making in university affairs would take up
too much of the student's time and might stand in
in the way of important learning.*

.351   Because they are here for such a short time, students
have very little real stake in what goes on at the
university.*

---

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the
cluster was delineated.

*Reverse-scored item.

TABLE 3

THE ACADEMIC STUDENT POWER SCALE

.639[b]   Students should definitely have a voice in determining
course content and required courses.

.618   It is the student's education at stake, so he should
have a voice in what kind of an education he gets
at the university.

.571   University students definitely deserve a say in
setting broad university policies regarding the
development of future academic programs, campus
planning and other matters.

.509   Students could make significant contributions to
tenure discussions.

.413   The university administration, like that of a city,
province, or nation, should be controlled by the
people for whom it is administering, that is, fac-
ulty and students.

---

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the
cluster was delineated.
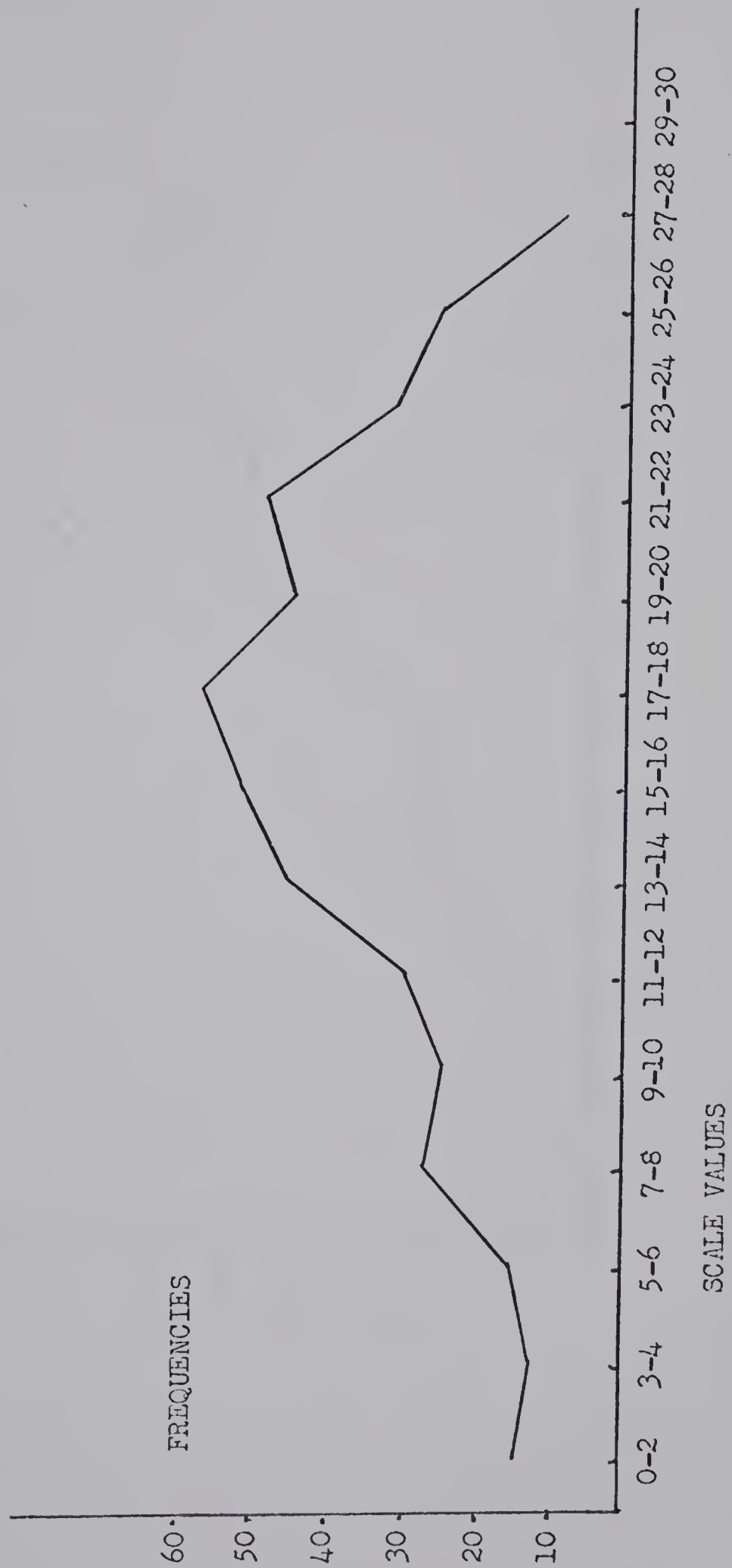
Fig. 1. -- Frequency distribution on Anti-Radicalism scale.

FIG. 2. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON ADMINISTRATIVE STUDENT POWER SCALE
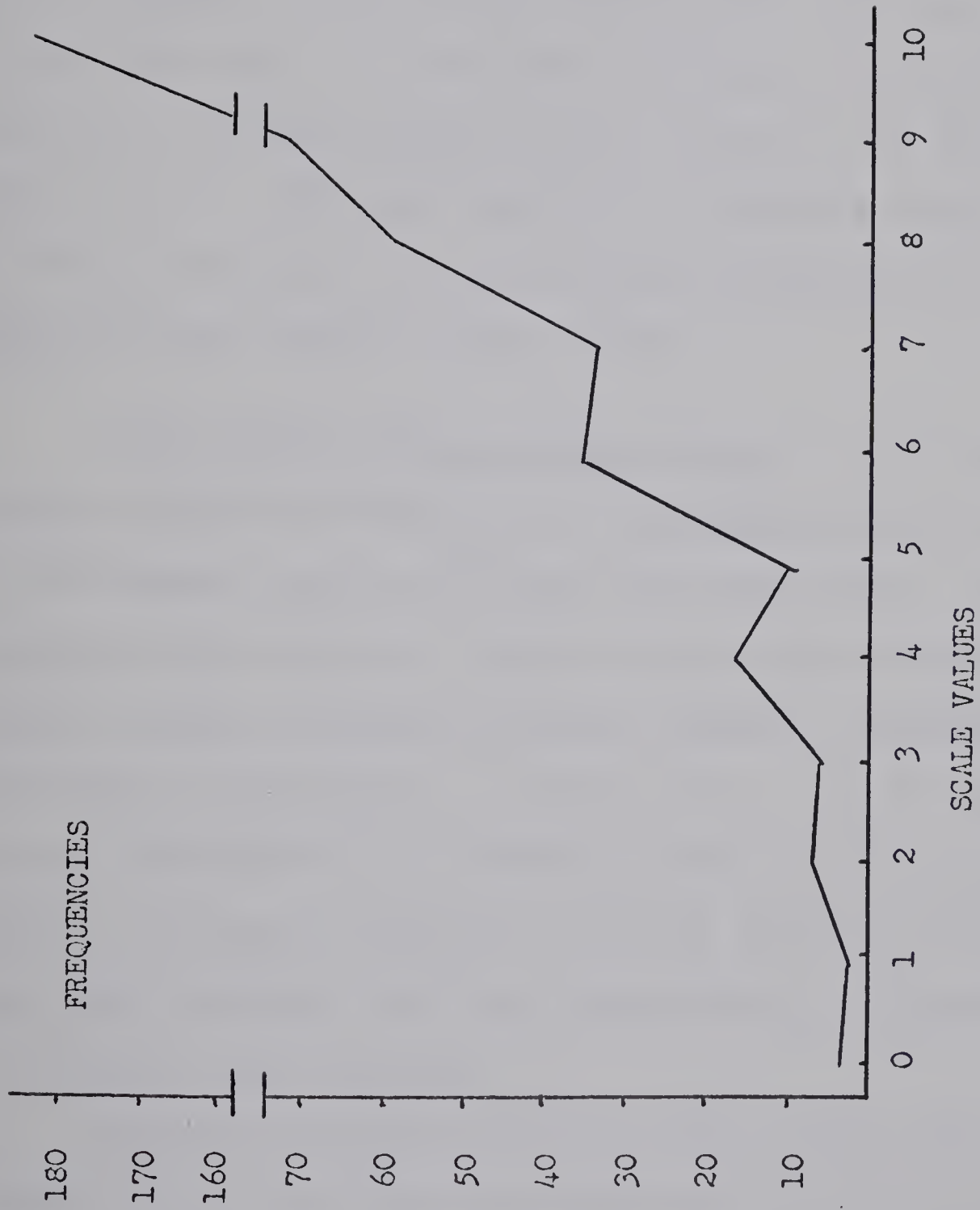
FREQUENCIES

FIG. 3. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS ON ACADEMIC STUDENT POWER SCALE

SCALE VALUES

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representation on the university's official governing bodies --
specifically, the Board of Governors. This seems to suggest
a concern for participation in <u>administrative</u> matters, as
contrasted with participation in strictly within-classroom
academic matters.

The possible range of scores on this measure is zero
to 12, though in the actual distribution there were no cases
in the zero cell. As indicated in Figure 2, the actual dis-
tribution is highly skewed, with a mean of 8.9 and a median
score of 9.1. The vast majority of students sampled apparent-
ly endorse the kind of participation alluded to in the
Administrative Student Power scale.

<u>The Academic Student Power Scale</u>. -- The desire to
broaden student participation in <u>academic</u> matters seems to
be the central feature of this five-item scale. The charac-
teristic items refer to student involvement in determining
course content, required courses, academic programs, and
the "kind of education" a student gets. The distinction
between "academic" and "administrative" student power is
subtle, of course, though not without justification. It is
suggested, however, that the convenience of labelling should
not obscure this subtlety.

Scores on Academic Student Power could range from
zero to 10, and this was the observed range as well. Again,
the distribution was highly skewed, with most of the sample
favoring more student participation in academic matters (see

Figure 3). Over 42 percent of the students were in agree-
metn with all the statements in the Academic Student Power
scale. The mean and median scores were 8.3 and 8.6 respect-
ively.

The Democratic Student Power Scale. This "cluster"
consists of only two items, both of which allude to the
feasibility of democracy as a mode of university government.
While a two-item cluster hardly constitutes overwhelming
evidence of a unique attitudinal dimension, the two were
inherently interesting. Both made explicit references to
democracy, and both constituted a pattern distinct from the
other student power clusters.

The scoring range on Democratic Student Power was
zero to four. The mean was 2.2 and the median was 1.7. As
indicated in Figure 4, the distribution of scores on this
scale was bimodal, with most respondents scoring in the
middle and upper-extreme categories.

The Organizational Student Power Scale. The distinc-
tion between "organized" student power and the other student
power dimensions is again a subtle one. Of the four items
in this scale, however, three refer to the alleged right of
students to organize, to strike, and to resort to violence
if necessary in the pursuit of their interests. Curiously,
this strategic, tactical emphasis is not found elsewhere in
the student power scales.

TABLE 4

THE DEMOCRATIC STUDENT POWER SCALE

.718[b] A democratically-run university would probably be
very chaotic.*

.689 Democratic operation of the university wouldn't be a
good idea because of the problem in establishing
procedures and structures.*

---

[b]Indicates item loadings on principal factor on which the
cluster was delineated.

*Indicates reverse-scored item.

TABLE 5

THE ORGANIZATIONAL STUDENT POWER SCALE

.511[b] University students should have the right to organize
to protect their own interests.

.359 Students should have an equal say in all university
matters, except where it is obvious that only
those with special knowledge could handle the
problem.

.346 Students should have the right to strike if they are
dissatisfied with the conditions in the university.

.315 Some changes in the university may be important enough
to justify student resort to violence.

---

[b]Indicates item loadings on principal factor on which the
cluster was delineated.
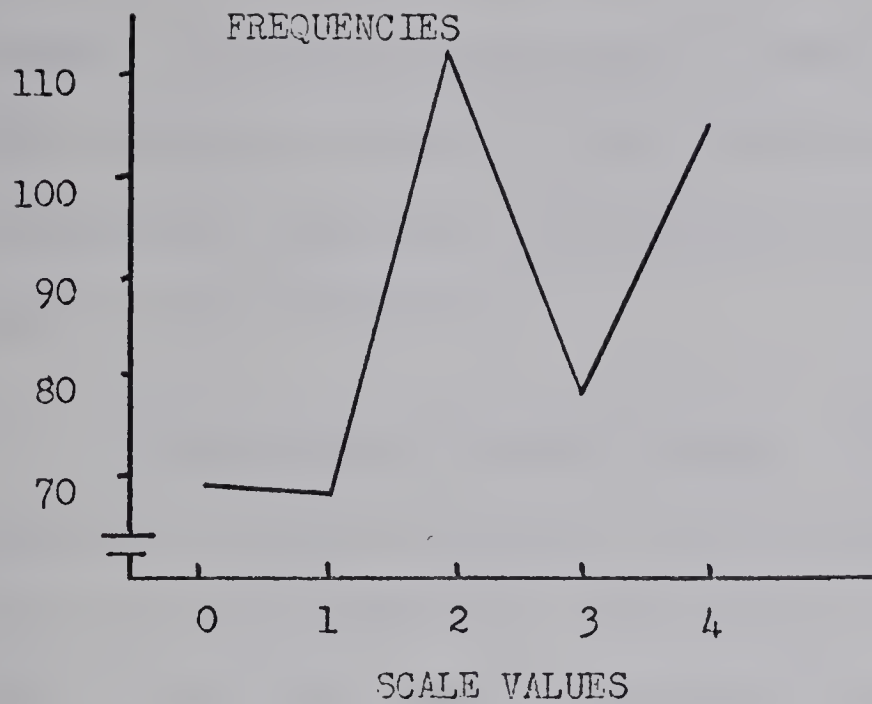
FIG.4. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON
DEMOCRATIC STUDENT POWER

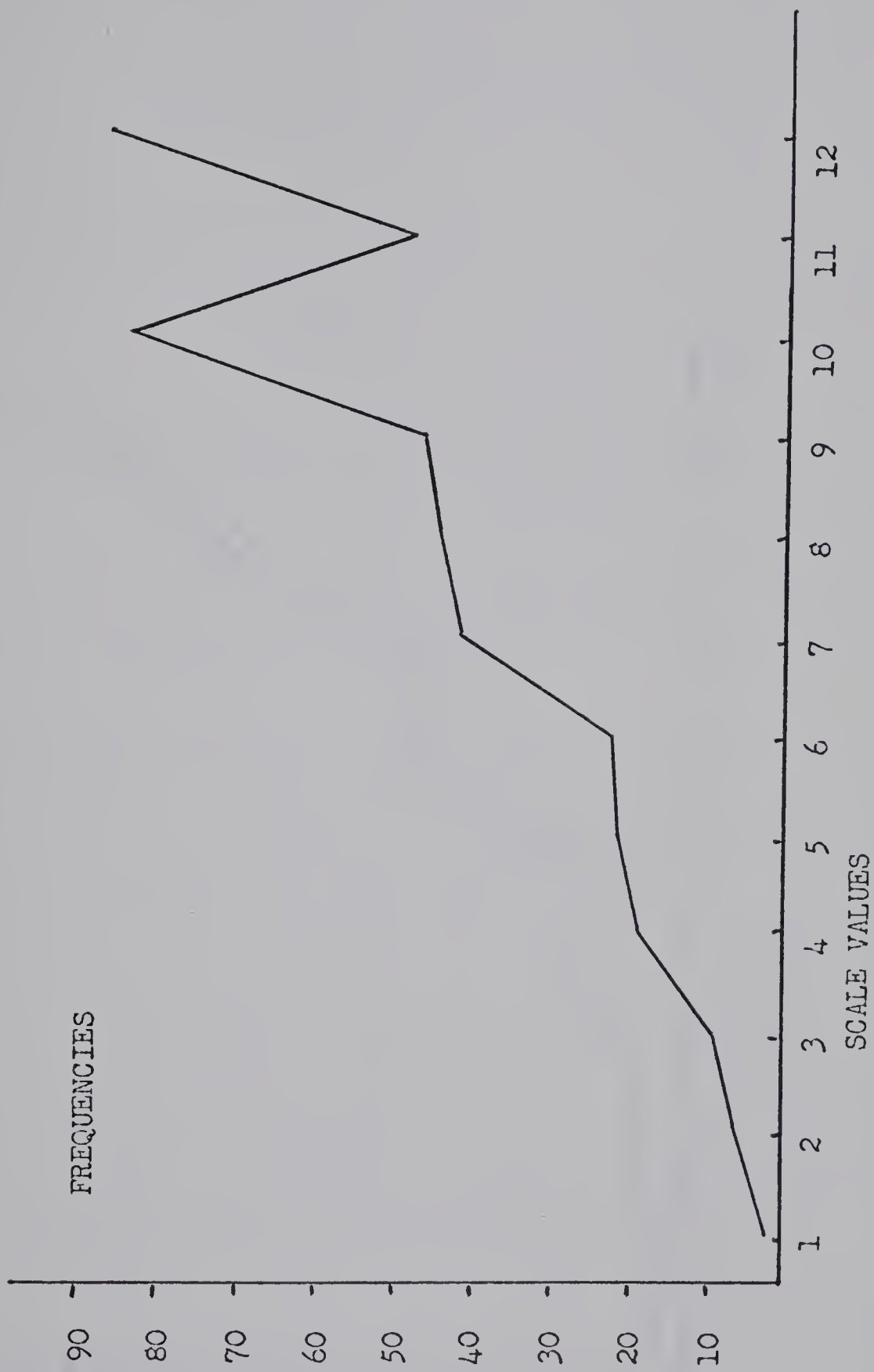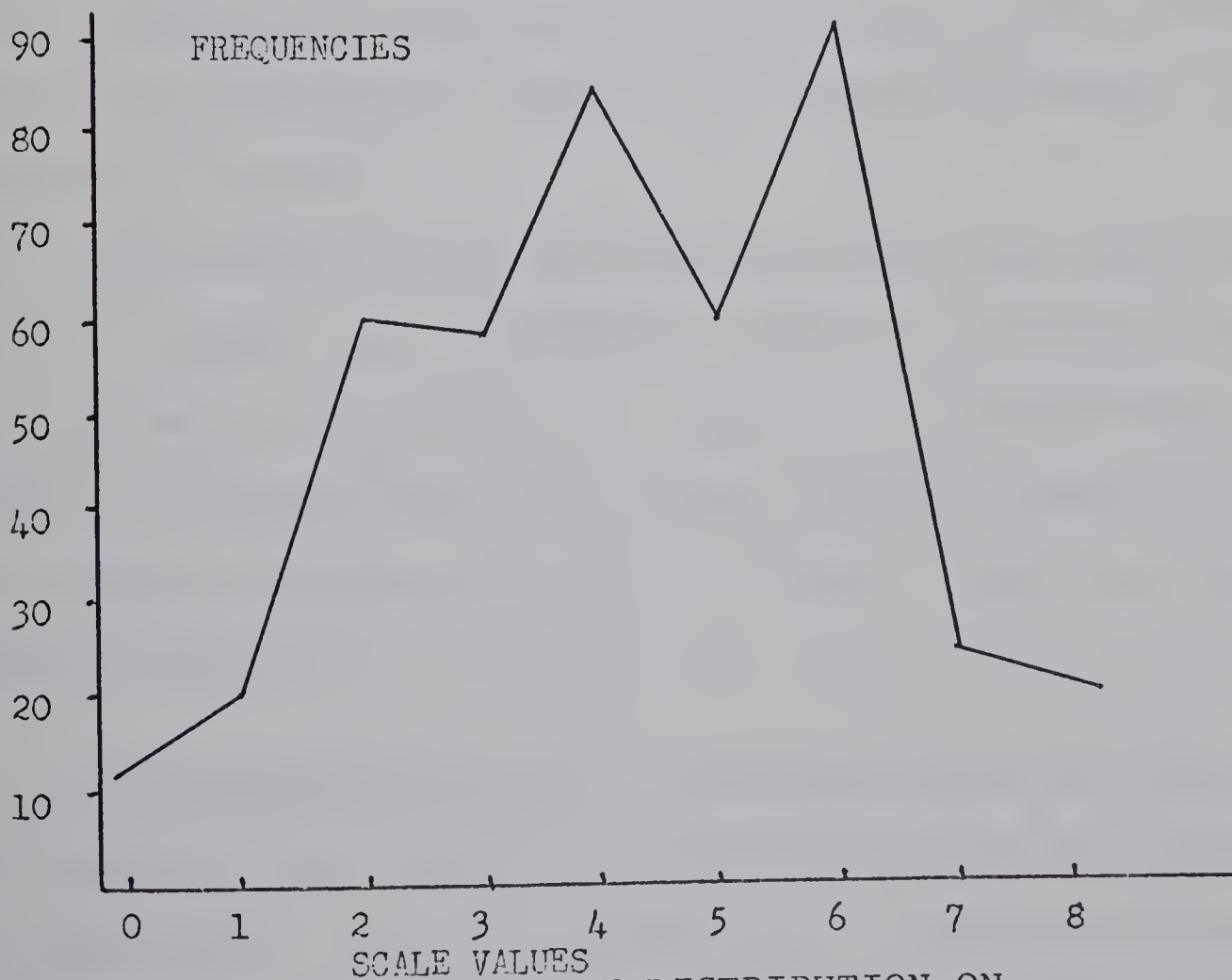FIG.5. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON
ORGANIZATIONAL STUDENT POWER

Organizational Student Power had a possible range of zero to 8, and there were observed frequencies in all categories. The mean score was 4.5 and the median was 3.8. Most students scored in the middle range on this scale, and frequencies drop off dramatically in the extreme upper categories (see Figure 5).

The System Cynicism Scale. This cluster of 16 items suggests a highly cynical view of university personnel, the value of the university experience, and the institution itself. The items seem to indicate an indictment of "the system" itself, with particular emphasis on the suspected motives of faculty and administrators. Though most items are addressed to comparatively specific matters, the general theme seems to be cynicism as regards the diverse elements in the university "system".

The scoring range on System Cynicism was zero to 32. In fact, however, no respondents scored in excess of 30. The mean and median scores were 13.2 and 12.4 respectively. Figure 6 indicates that the students sampled tended to reject the extremes of System Cynicism in favor of the lower and moderate ranges.

The Contentment Scale. The seven items in this cluster suggest a high degree of satisfaction with the university experience. Going to university is looked upon as a happy and intrinsically rewarding experience. The possible

TABLE 6

THE SYSTEM CYNICISM SCALE

.601[b]	University professors are usually too dogmatic. They think everything they say has to be right.
.576	University courses don't deal with the important questions; they deal with the trivia that surrounds these questions.
.542	University administrators just don't give a damn about how their decisions affect students' lives.
.517	University lectures are generally dry and boring.
.493	Generally speaking, once a professor has tenure, he ceases to care much about students.
.490	A university student probably learns more from discussions with fellow students than he does from faculty.
.485	A student at this university is just a 1/16 inch hole in an IBM punch card.
.468	Many faculty members won't take radical positions on issues because they are afraid of losing their jobs.
.460	Students should demand the abolition of the university's tenure system for professors.
.446	Because of the "dog-eat-dog", "publish-or-perish" situation that exists, most university faculty members can't be expected to be overly concerned about student needs.
.422	Drastic changes are so badly needed at the university that it makes one angry to think that the question is even debatable.
-.401	There are ample opportunities for university students to talk to professors.*
.400	By the time most students find out what is going on at the university, it has already happened.
.394	Going to university is largely a matter of luck and social background.
.355	Students' Union activists are just a bunch of clean-cut guys who don't know where the action is, and probably don't care.
.334	The university should be far more critical of society, and far less oriented towards the status quo.

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.

*Indicates reverse-scored item.

TABLE 7

THE CONTENTMENT SCALE

.689[b]	Had I known more about what the university exper- ience would really be like, I would still have been eager to come here.
.683	Attending university is one of the most rewarding experiences in a person's life.
-.617	Being in a university community is generally depressing.*
-.603	For a variety of reasons, the university experience has not been very pleasant for me.*
.547	The reason I'm in university is freedom -- I feel I have freedom here to pursue my own interests.
.457	University helps a person find worthwhile goals in life.
.347	While at university, I have formed several intense friendships, based on common intellectual interests.

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.
*Indicates reverse-scored item.

TABLE 8

THE AIMLESSNESS SCALE

.741[b]	I guess the main reason I'm in university is that it was the "thing to do".
.725	I came to university mainly because it was expected of me.
.638	I'm here because my parents pressured me into getting a university education.
.577	My reasons for coming to university were poorly defined and are subject to constant re-examination.
.573	Upon graduating from high school, I didn't really know what I wanted to do, so I came to university.
.535	I came to university because it beats working.

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.

FREQUENCIES

60

50

40

30

20

10

0-2 3-4 5-6 7-8 9-10 11-12 13-14 15-16 17-18 19-20 21-22 23-24 25-26 27-28 29-30

SCALE VALUES
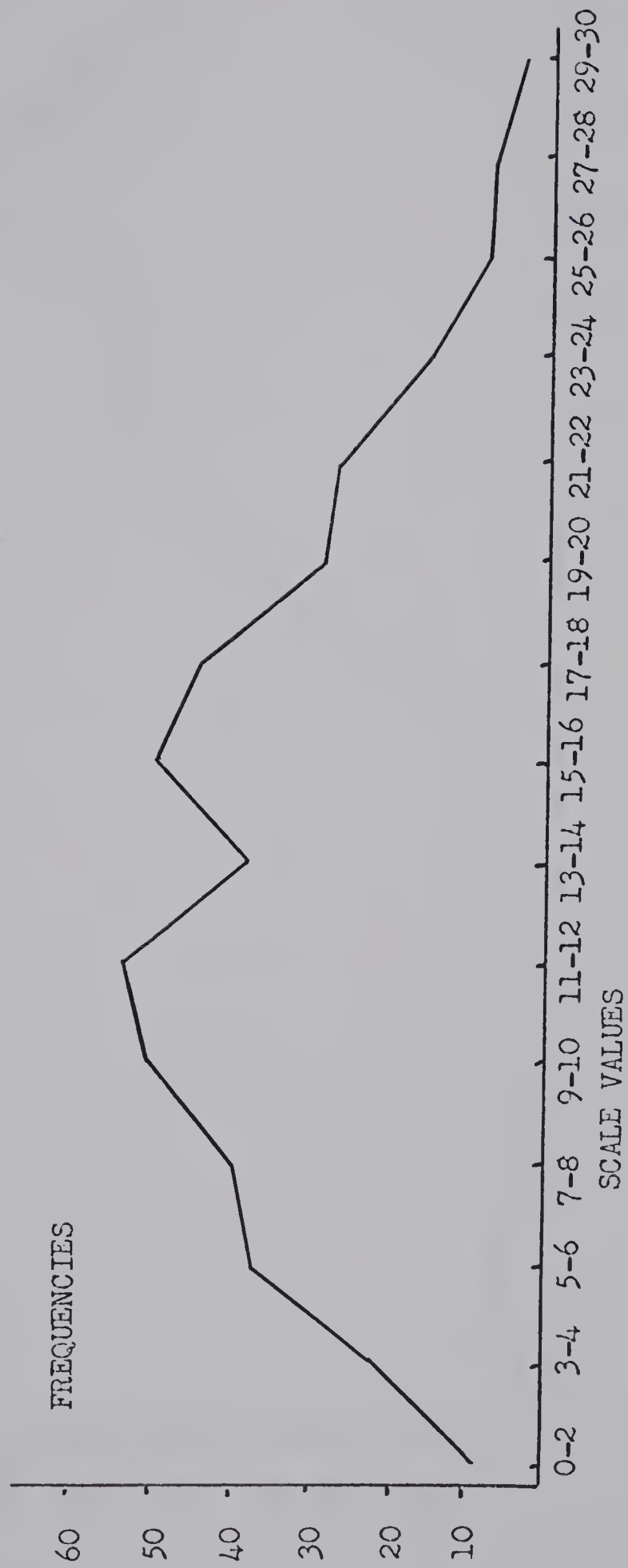
FIG. 6. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON SYSTEM CYNICISM SCALE

FREQUENCIES

SCALE VALUES
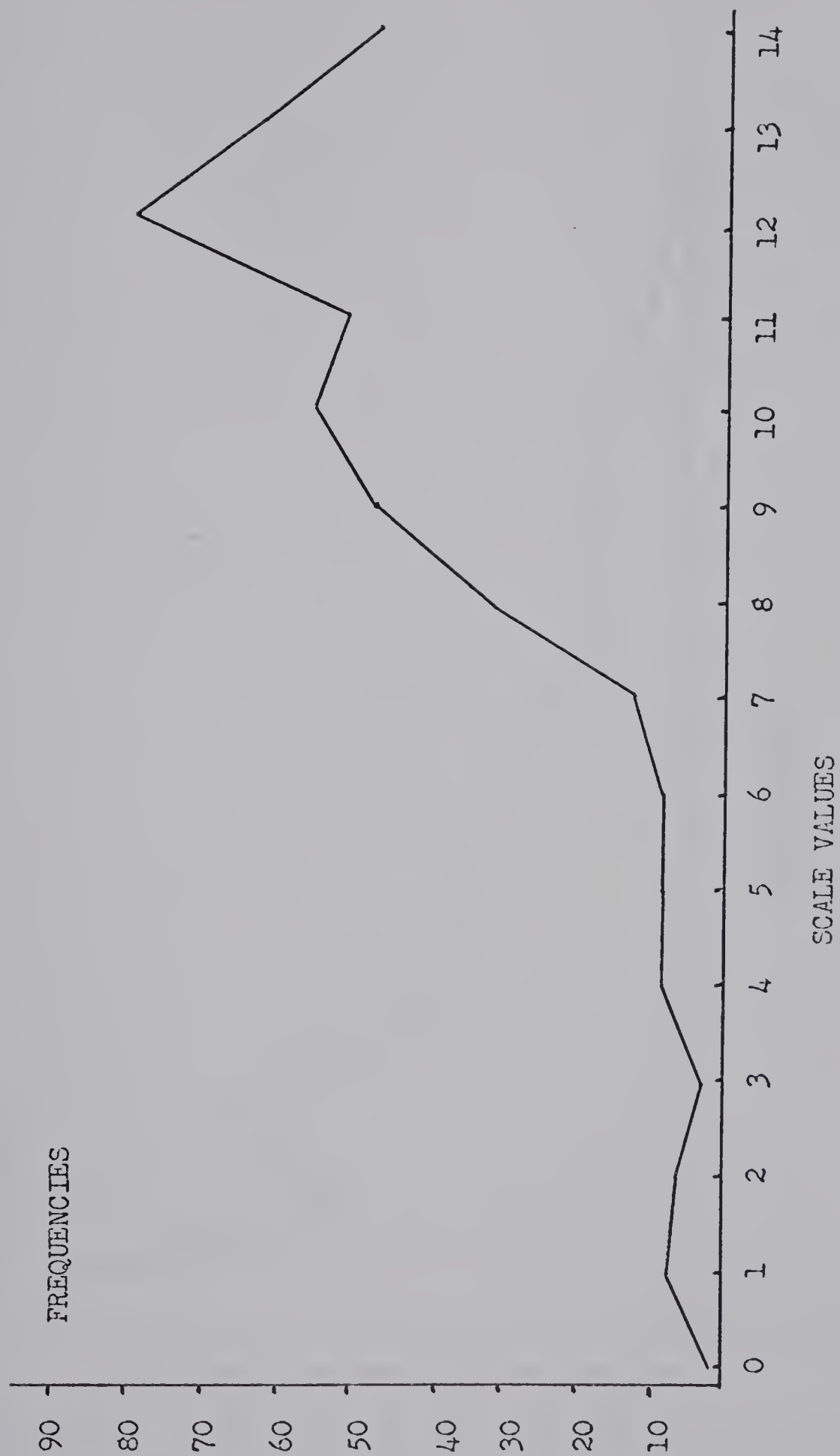
FIG. 7 -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS ON CONTENTMENT SCALE

57
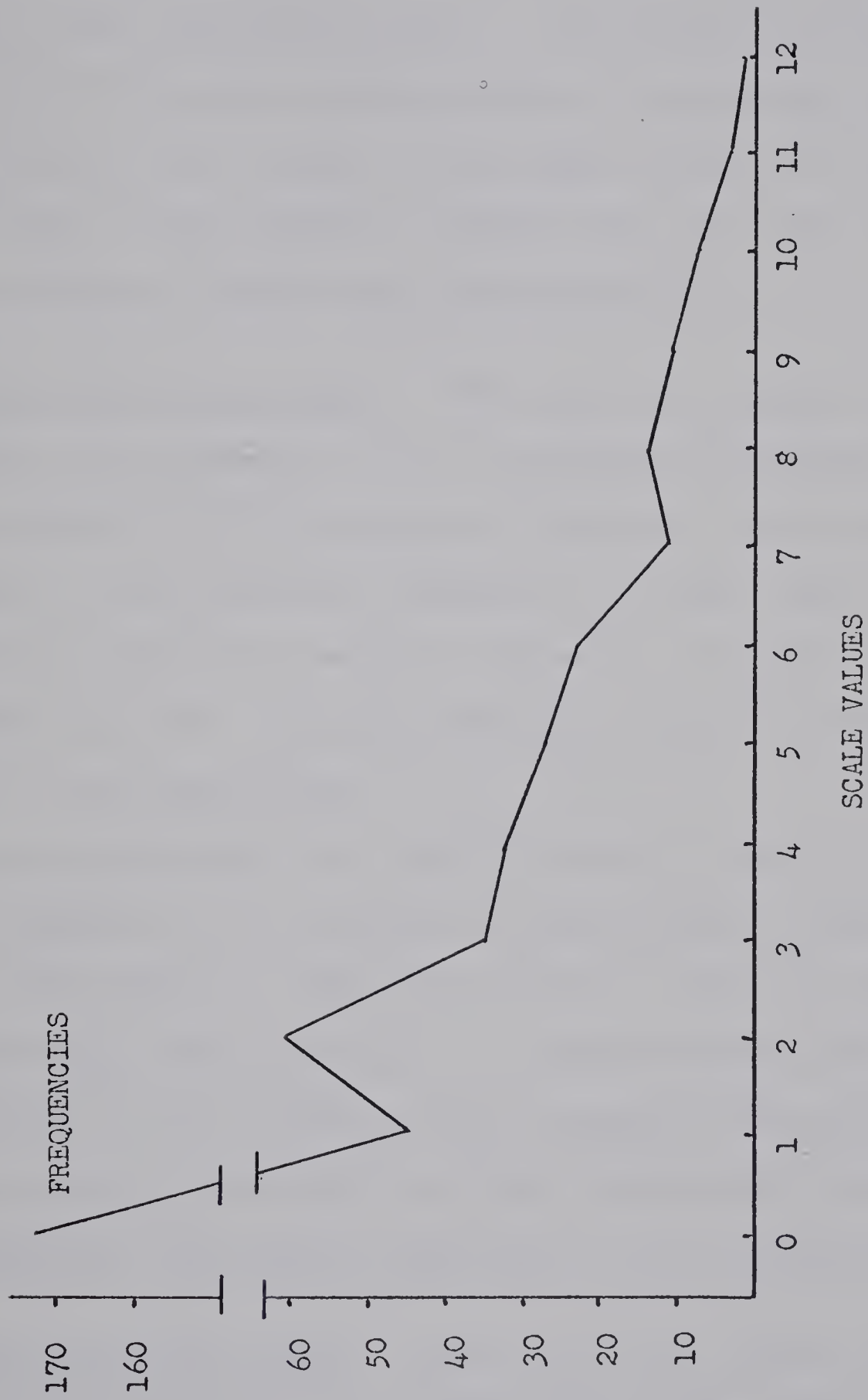
FIG. 8 -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON AIMLESSNESS SCALE

range and the actual range of scores on this scale was zero
to 14.

Generally, students were in agreement with the prop-
ositions in the Contentment scale. The profile in Figure 7
shows that the frequency distribution on Contentment was
heavily skewed, with a mean of 10.4 and a median of 10.5.
Clearly, most of the students sampled look upon the univer-
sity experience as being happy and worthwhile.

The Aimlessness Scale. This six-item cluster indic-
ates a lack of commitment to the university experience, either
in and of itself or in the light of specific career goals.
The student is in university because it is the "thing to do",
or because of parental pressure, and so on. He has no part-
icular goals in mind, and, one suspects, is not fervently
committed to the experience.

Not surprisingly, the distribution of scores on Aim-
lessness (Figure 8) is virtually a mirror-image of the Con-
tentment distribution. While the range of scores is zero
to 12, the mean score was only 2.3, and the median was
approximately 1 (0.9). Most students sampled apparently
think they are in university for good reason and, compara-
tively speaking, are highly committed to the enterprise.

The Loneliness Scale. These six items stress the
loneliness of the individual in the face of the social and
physical environment of a large university campus. He does

TABLE 9

THE LONELINESS SCALE

-.655[b]	The size of the university has not interfered with my being able to make friends with other students.*
.636	I feel lost and alone much of the time on campus.
.523	If I could make more friends here, university wouldn't be such an unhappy experience.
.477	The university is too impersonal.
-.442	I have a considerable amount of contact with other students outside of classes.*
-.319	I've made several friendships at university that will probably last a lifetime.*

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.
*Indicates reverse-scored item.

TABLE 10

THE UNIVERSITY ELITISM SCALE

.755[b]	People who go to university work hard for what they they get and therefore belong "on the top" relative to the rest of society.
.705	University graduates deserve a high social status because of the hard work and sacrifice that went into their degrees.
.655	If university graduates weren't somehow superior to other people, they wouldn't have gotten through university.
-.512	University graduates aren't really better than other people; other people probably didn't get the breaks.*

[b]Indicates item loading on principal factor on which the cluster was delineated.
*Indicates reverse-scored item.
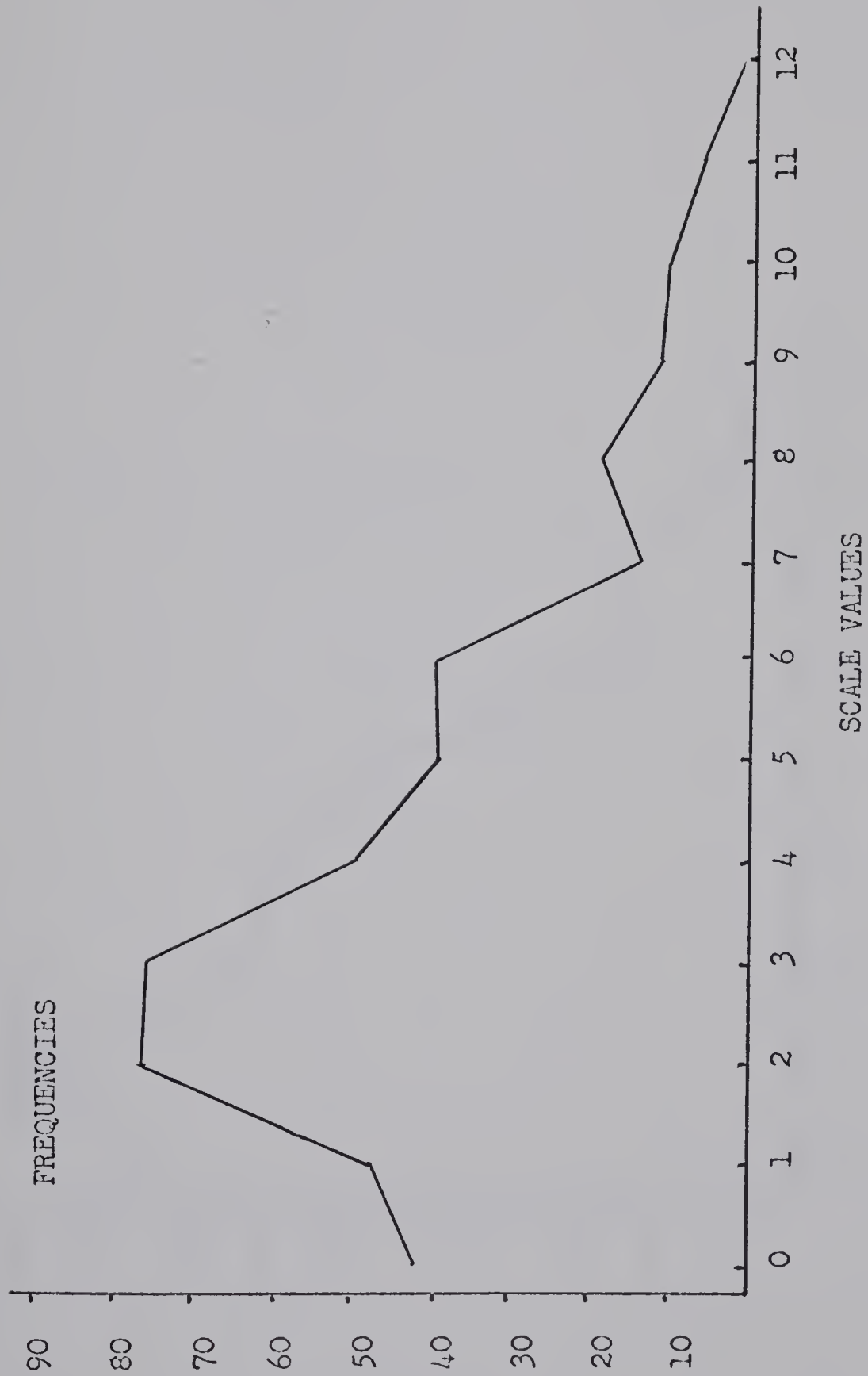
FIG. 9. — FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON LONELINESS SCALE
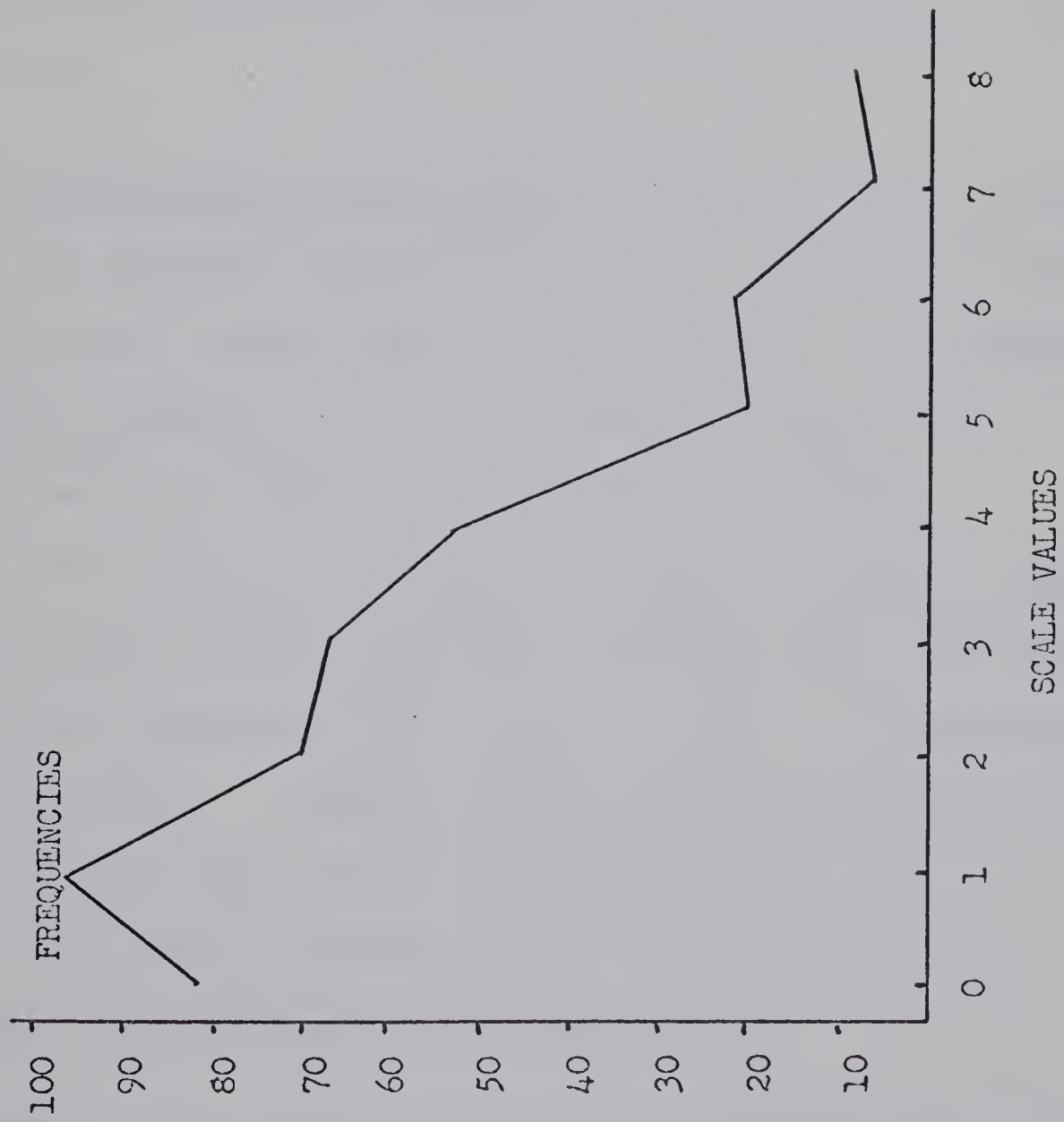
FIG. 10. -- FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION ON UNIVERSITY ELITISM SCALE

not relate to his fellow students, and finds the physical environment somewhat overwhelming. In short, he feels "lost and alone".

Scores on the Loneliness scale range from zero to 12, with a mean and median of 3.7 and 2.6 respectively. Relatively few students scored in the upper range on this scale. Most of those sampled tend to be comparatively satisfied with friendship relationships at university and do not find anything inherently oppressive about the size of the university.

The University Elitism Scale. This four-item cluster emphasizes the alleged superiority of the university graduate over persons lacking university education. University graduates are superior by virtue of their degrees, and belong "on the top" relative to the rest of society.

The vast majority of students sampled disagreed with most of the items in the University Elitism scale (see Figure 10). Nearly 42 percent of the sample scored in the two lowest scale categories. Though scores ranged from zero to 8, the mean score was only 2.36, while the median was 1.5. It is apparent that most students do not feel particularly elitist about their educational achievements.

At this point, it may be useful to reflect on what has transpired. The 97 items utilized in the final survey instrument have been analyzed in an effort to delineate

clusters of responses. These clusters were assumed to indi-
cate that the items in question covered a more or less homo-
geneous area of attitude content. Ten such clusters were
delineated, and formed the basis for the determination of
item content for ten scales. Each of these ten scales is
assumed to be either a dimension of the student power belief
system or a dimension of the sentiment domain.

The question to which we now address ourselves is as
follows: which of these ten dimensions can be shown to lie
in the student power attitudinal space, and which of the
dimensions can be shown to lie in the sentiment attitudinal
space? By way of answering this, it may be instructive
first to look at the intercorrelations of the ten variables.
This matrix is presented in Table 11. An inspection of the
intercorrelations reveals several interesting features.

First, there are at least two distinct clusters of
correlation coefficients. In the upper left segment of the
matrix are the intercorrelations of the Anti-Radicalism and
four affirmative student power scales. These are differen-
tiated from the rest of the matrix by the solid vertical
line. Towards the lower right segment of the matrix is
another set of correlations indicating the interrelation-
ships of Contentment, Aimlessness, and Loneliness. These
are differentiated from the rest of the matrix by the solid
horizontal line. It will be noted that the intercorrelations
within each set are comparatively high, and all are statis-
tically significant.

TABLE 11

CORRELATION MATRIX, STUDENT POWER AND SENTIMENT VARIABLES

	1. Anti-Radicalism	2. Administrative Student Power	3. Academic Student Power	4. Democratic Student Power	5. Organizational Student Power	6. System Cynicism	7. Contentment	8. Aimlessness	9. Loneliness	10. University Elitism
1.	1.000									
2.	-.462*	1.000								
3.	-.405*	.508*	1.000							
4.	-.374*	.360*	.273*	1.000						
5.	-.530*	.414*	.421*	.273*	1.000					
6.	-.370*	.173*	.298*	.172*	.438*	1.000				
7.	.114"	.067	.011	.019	-.088'	-.314*	1.000			
8.	-.167*	.000	.148*	.010	.169*	-.329*	-.293*	1.000		
9.	-.095'	-.017	-.089'	.120"	.099"	-.381*	-.461*	.153*	1.000	
10.	.096'	-.036	-.004	-.033	.012	.026	.032	.047	.060	1.000

*p .001
"p .01
'p .05
N = 428

Secondly, the intercorrelations across these sets
of variables (i.e., correlations between the presumed student
power variables and the presumed sentiment variables) are
comparatively small. These appear in the upper right (off
diagonal square) of the matrix, and tend to be relatively
minor. This suggests, tentatively, that each set of varia-
bles is of a distinct belief system, and that the belief sys-
tems tend to be self-contained vis-a-vis each other.

Finally, System Cynicism appears to bridge these
belief systems. That is System Cynicism is correlated rather
highly with all five variables within the presumed student
power attitude domain, and with the three variables within
the presumed sentiment attitude domain. These correlations
are set off from the rest of the matrix by the broken hori-
zontal and vertical lines. University Elitism, on the other
hand, doesn't appear to "fit" either belief system. Corre-
lations between University Elitism and the other nine vari-
ables are very weak.

The impressions thus gleaned from the correlation
matrix were tested and refined by rotating factors ortho-
gonally through the matrix. The resultant factor structure
is reported in Table 12. Looking at the first factor in
that rotation, we note that the highest loadings are for
Administrative Student Power, Anti-Radicalism (negative load-
ing), Academic Student Power, Organizational Student Power,
Democratic Student Power, and System Cynicism -- in that order.

TABLE 12

FACTOR MATRIX*, STUDENT POWER AND SENTIMENT VARIABLES

Variables	Rotated Factors			
	I	II	III	IV
Anti-Radicalism	(-.746)	-.191	.162	.620
Administrative Student Power	(.782)	-.136	-.016	.630
Academic Student Power	(.726)	.066	.023	.532
Democratic Student Power	(.593)	-.009	.034	.353
Organizational Student Power	(.720)	.224	.015	.570
System Cynicism	.415	(.654)	.064	.604
Contentment	.092	(-.790)	.055	.634
Aimlessness	.089	(.579)	-.277	.420
Loneliness	.026	(.724)	.238	.582
University Elitism	-.015	.009	(.937)	.879
PERCENT TOTAL VARIANCE[a]	27.55	20.21	10.45	58.21
PERCENT COMMON VARIANCE[b]	47.32	34.71	17.95	99.98[c]

Notes:

*Varimax rotation. Loadings greater than .50 are enclosed in parentheses.

[a]The term "percent total variance" refers to the proportion of total variance in the data that is extracted by each factor.

[b]The term "percent common variance" refers to the distribution of the total extracted variance among the three factors.

[c]Figures do not total exactly 100 percent due to rounding errors.

The remaining four variables are negligibly loaded on this factor. This is clearly the "student Power" dimension and accounts for 27.5 percent of the total variance in the data, or 47.3 percent of the total patterned variance.

Factor two of this structure is defined primarily by the sentiment variables. The highest loadings are for Contentment (negatively loaded), Loneliness, System Cynicism, and Aimlessness. System Cynicism is loaded more highly on this factor (.654) than on factor one (.415) and a greater proportion of the variance on System Cynicism is accounted for by its interrelationships with the sentiment variables. Thus, 42.8 percent of the variance on this measure is accounted for by the Factor Two pattern, compared with 17.2 percent of the System Cynicism variance that enters into the Factor One constellation. The researchers concluded from this that System Cynicism could be more properly assigned to the sentiment domain. At the same time it was noted that System Cynicism would probably be an important explanatory variable when it came to accounting for variations in scores within the student power attitudinal complex.

Further to the discussion of Factor Two, one should note modest loadings for Anti-Radicalism, Administrative Student Power, and Organizational Student Power. These appear to be minor deviations from simple structure, and warrant no further comment at this point. The sentiment factor accounts for 20.2 percent of the total variance in

the data, and 34.7 percent of the total patterned variance.

Factor Three of this rotation is defined almost
entirely by University Elitism, with modest loadings for
Aimlessness (-.277), Loneliness (.238) and Anti-Radicalism
(.162). This factor accounts for a comparatively small pro-
portion of the total variance (10.5 percent) and just under
18 percent of the patterned variance. Clearly, University
Elitism tends to be endorsed or rejected regardless of one's
feelings about student power. At best, one might incorporate
the elitist variable into the sentiment domain, given the
modest association with Aimlessness and Loneliness on Factor
Three.

Turning for a moment to communalities, some further
points are worth noting. Excepting Democratic Student Power
between 55 and 65 percent of the variance on each of the stu-
dent power scales is shared with other data variables -- not-
ably those in the student power set. On the other hand, only
35 percent of the variance on Democratic Student Power is
accounted for in terms of the other variables in this rotation.
It may be that Democratic Student Power was endorsed largely
as a consequence of allegiance to the democratic myth, and is
comparatively void of the more specific attitudinal implica-
tions characteristic of the other student power scales.

Over 60 percent of the variance on System Cynicism
is shared with other data variables -- which, as was noted,
are within both the sentiment and student power attitudinal

complexes. Sixty-four percent of the variance on Content-
ment and 58 percent of the variance on Loneliness was
accounted for by the three factors, and most of this would
be covariance within the sentiment domain. On the other
hand, a comparatively small proportion (42 percent) of
the variance on Aimlessness is explained by the three
patterns -- notably the second and (to a much smaller ex-
tent) the third factors. Aimlessness may be a slightly
different kind of variable relative to the other sentiment
variables -- emphasizing, for example, why one came to
university rather than how satisfied one is with university.

All told, this factor solution accounted for a
modest 58.2 percent of the total variance in the data. On
the basis of the interpretation of this matrix, it was
concluded that the 10 attitude scales spanned a space of
three distinct dimensions. The variables which can be said
to lie in the student power attitudinal space are: Anti-
radicalism, administrative Student Power, Academic Student
Power, Democratic Student Power, and Organizational Student
Power. The variables which seem to be contained largely
within the sentiment belief system are System Cynicism, Con-
tentment, Aimlessness, and Loneliness, University Elitism does
not appear to be significantly incorporated into either space,
but seems slightly closer to the sentiment constellation.
With these observations we conclude our discussion of the
dimensionality of attitudes towards student power, and of
the presumed dimensionality of attitudes towards the univer-

sity experience in general. Having decided upon the class-
ification referred to above, however, one point need be made
in closing. The student power variables are somewhat differ-
entially related to Factor One (i.e., the principal factor
on which this constellation was delineated). Similarly,
the sentiment variables tend to be differentially related
to the Factor Two pattern. This suggests that it might be
fruitful to investigate relationships <u>within</u> each domain,
in an attempt to further summarize the data. In other words,
having decided that some variables seem to be part of the
sentiment belief system, it may be useful to consider the
<u>structure</u> of each domain. This will be the subject matter
of Chapter Four.

Chapter III

[1]The item "Some people just aren't capable of pursuing a university education" had been assumed to be indicative of an elitist view of university education. Some people however, clearly interpreted it as a factual statement pertaining to mental, physical or monetary objects in the way of some potential aspirants to higher education. For this reason the item was excluded.

[2]Sutherland, op.cit., Chapter 3.

[3]This is a comparatively conservative cut-off point. For N = 428, Pearson correlations of .30 are highly significant.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE STUDENT POWER AND SENTIMENT

ATTITUDE DOMAINS

In the previous chapter, several dimensions of
attitudes towards student power were delineated on the
basis of a factor analysis of the ten attitude scales devel-
oped in this study. The attitude components which seemed
to be part of the student power belief system were speci-
fied as: Anti-Radicalism (or Pro-Radicalism), Administrative
Student Power, Academic Student Power, Democratic Student
Power, and Organizational Student Power. Further to this,
a number of variables were seen to cluster in a fashion that
suggested a 'university sentiment' attitude constellation.
The latter included System Cynicism, Contentment, Aimless-
ness, Loneliness, and -- very marginally -- University Elit-
ism.

At this point, we leave the discussion of the content
of the student power and sentiment attitude constellations,
and consider in further detail some questions pertaining to
the structure of each set of attitudes. How are the student
power variables interrelated? Are some variables within the
set more "definitive" of the belief system than are others?
Can the five variables be meaningfully combined into one or

more composite measures for further analysis? Are some

of the sentiment variables "closer" in psychological space

than are others? Will a study of such interrelationships

enhance our understanding of the meaning of the sentiment

constellation?

    We address ourselves to these questions by factor

analyzing each set of variables independently of the other.

The first of these matrices are reported in Table 13. In

that table, the matrix to the left shows the loadings for

each of the student power variables on each of the unrota-

ted factors. Most of the common variance is extracted by

the first factor, of course, while the second factor picks

up most of the residual common variance that is independent

of Factor One. The third factor extracts comparatively little

of the common variance, and the fourth factor is inconsequen-

tial.

    In order to get a more meaningful picture of the kind

of psychological space represented by the student power var-

iables, the factors were rotated orthogonally. In effect,

this accomplished the maximization of variance on each factor

by "redistributing" the common variance accounted for in the

unrotated factor matrix. From a theoretical standpoint, the

rotation had the effect of displaying the variable cluster

from a more useful vantage point. The rotated matrix appears

on the right in Table 13.

    Factor One of this matrix is defined largely by the

TABLE 13

FACTOR MATRICES,* STUDENT POWER VARIABLES

Variables	Unrotated factors				h^2	Rotated factors			
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV
Anti-Radicalism	733	258	-074	013	609	594	-233	-449	024
Organizational Student Power	-671	-201	-193	007	528	-623	324	187	009
Administrative Student Power	-710	247	065	-021	569	-237	589	407	-032
Academic Student Power	-651	229	-155	014	499	-301	611	191	015
Democratic Student Power	-484	-001	268	022	306	-189	205	478	003
PERCENT COMMON VARIANCEa	85.6	8.8	5.7	0.1		36.6	36.5	26.5	0.4
PERCENT TOTAL VARIANCEb	43.0	4.4	2.9	0.0	50.3	18.5	18.4	13.3	0.2
EIGENVALUES	2.15	.22	.14	0.0					

Notes: *Factors were rotated orthogonally using the varimax technique. Decimals omitted in matrix.

aThe term "percent common variance" refers to the distribution of the total extracted variance among the four factors. Thus, these percentages total approximately 100 (allowing for rounding errors).

bThe term "percent total variance" refers to the proportion of total variance in the data that is extracted by each factor. This totals approximately 50.3 percent.

Anti-Radicalism and Organizational Student Power dimensions (the latter loading negatively), with much smaller negative loadings for Administrative Student Power, Academic Student Power, and Democratic Student Power. This suggests rather clearly a Radicalism/Organizational component in the student power attitude complex -- a component which accounts for 36.6 percent of the variance common to the five measures, and 18.5 percent of the total variance in the data.

Factor Two takes out an almost identical proportion of the common variance (36.5 percent) and total variance (18.4 percent). The variables loading most highly on this factor are Administrative Student Power and Academic Student Power, with modest loadings for Organizational Student Power, Democratic Student Power, and Anti-Radicalism (-.233). This is suggestive of an Administrative/Academic student power component only moderately associated with positive views of Organizational Student Power.

Factor Three of the rotated (orthogonal) matrix is characterized by substantial positive loadings for Democratic and Administrative Student Power, and a substantial negative loading for Anti-Radicalism. While this association of radicalism and democracy is interesting, it is curious that the Organizational Student Power dimension is not significantly incorporated into the pattern. Instead, this third factor seems to pull out a pro-Radical, Pro-Democratic type, with both views being held in conjunction with a willingness to pursue such "system-oriented" concessions as votes on the

university's Board of Governors (the loading for Adminis-
trative Student Power is .407). Factor Three accounts for
over 25 percent of the common variance, and 13.3 percent of
the total variance. (Factor Four, accounting for only four
tenths of one percent of the common variance, is obviously a
nuisance factor and warrants no further comment).

To facilitate the general interpretation of the rota-
ted matrix, and to give some idea of the kind of psychological
space therein implied, it may be useful to view some of these
configurations graphically. The first of these "maps" (Fig-
ure 11)shows the position of each of the student power varia-
bles in relation to Factors One and Two. Because the factors
were rotated orthogonally, the axes in the graph are at right
angles, while the ordinate and abscissa are the loadings of
each variable on Factors One and Two, respectively.

Several features in this graph should be noted. First,
Administrative and Academic Student Power are virtually con-
tiguous in terms of their position in "space". If one recalls
the content of these dimensions, this will not be particularly
surprising. Both included items pertaining to the desire for
broader student participation in decision making at the univer-
sity, and the distinction between "administrative" and "academic"
decision making had been admittedly tenuous. Further to this,
the administrative and academic variables seem to pertain more
to specific issues rather than to personalities or tactics.

The latter feature is mentioned because it is in marked
contrast to the Anti-Radicalism and Organizational Student Power
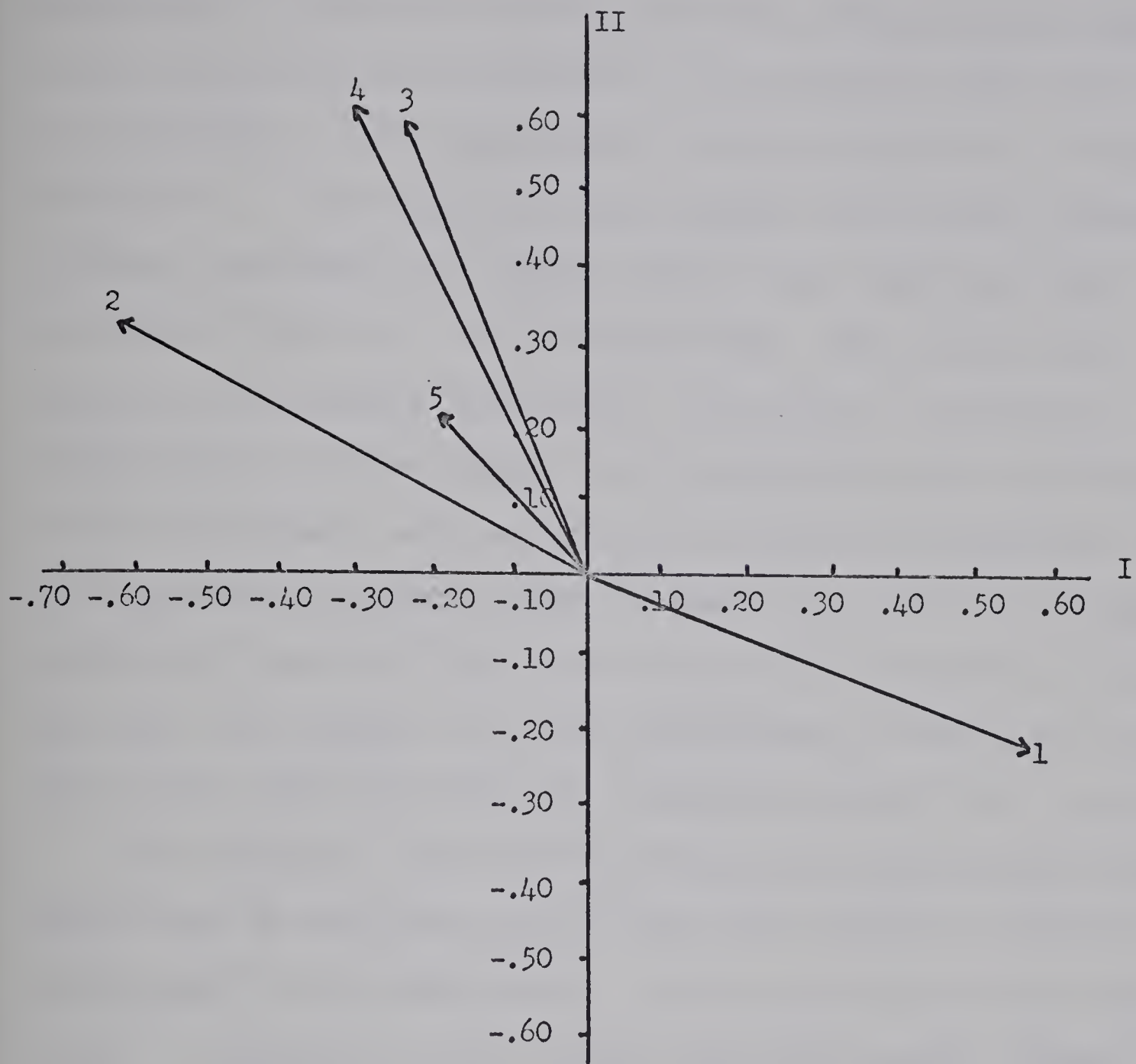
Symbols:

I: Factor I.   1. Anti-Radicalism
II: Factor II.   2. Organizational Student Power
                            3. Administrative Student Power
                            4. Academic Student Power
                            5. Democratic Student Power

Fig. 11. --- The structure of the student power attitude domain: graphical representation showing plots of variables on Factors I and II of rotated matrix, Table 13.

dimensions. The Anti-Radicalism scale includes many items which pertain to the rejection -- and in some cases, the vilification -- of a particular student group (i.e., "radical students"). The Organizational Student Power scale stresses tactical features to a larger extent than does any other measure in the set. It is interesting, then, that these should be so closely associated (negatively, of course). Graphically, the two emerge as virtually opposite poles on a single continuum, each pulling in a different direction. It is apparent that many students tended to associate the organizational, tactical theme with radicalism and radical students and not, for example, with the achievement of the goals implicit in the Administrative and Academic Student Power scales.

One suspects from all this that the student power belief system may be organized along axes that suggest a kind of "means-ends" dichotomization. On the one hand we have the "ends" -- implicit in the avowed wish for greater student participation in the specifics of university decision making (indicated, we assume, by responses on the Administrative and Academic Student Power scales). The ends, or goals, are positioned graphically in the second quadrant towards the "y" axis. On the other hand we have the "means" to those ends -- an organized, radical student movement (implicit, we assume, in the content of the Anti-Radicalism and Organizational Student Power scales). The means, or tactics, are represented graphically in the second and fourth quadrants

towards the "x" axis. (They "pull" in opposite directions, of course, because they are weighted in reverse directions).

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that most students tend to subscribe to the apparent goals of student Power -- i.e., most students scored in the upper ranges on the Administrative and Academic Student Power scales. Clearly, however, the acceptance of the goals does not necessarily imply the acceptance of the tactics implicit in the Organizational Student Power and Anti-Radicalism measures. However, there is some tendency in that direction. Note, for example, that all four variables in quesiton co-vary on both Factor One and Factor Two -- an understandable deviation from simple structure. Overall, however, one would suggest that a substantial segment of the sample accept the goals of participation, while rejecting organization and radical politics in the pursuit of those goals.

Finally, in the discussion of Figure 11, one need only note the relative position of Democratic Student Power -- in mid-space between the two axes, and comparatively close to origin. This is congruent with the loadings on the rotated factors, of course, in that less than four percent of the variance on Democratic Student Power is shared with either of the two initial configurations. The Organized/Radicalism pattern and the Administrative/Academic pattern extracted by Factors One and Two do not necessarily imply positive attitudes towards the democratization of the university.

Nonetheless, it is clear that some respondents do hold favorable attitudes towards campus radicals in conjunction with positive attitudes towards the concept of a democratic university. We are speaking, of course, of the variance extracted by Factor Three in the rotation. Graphically, the Factor Three configuration can be visualized best in relation to Factor Two. These are the axes utilized in the positioning of the data variables in Figure 12. The most prominent feature on this "map" is the positioning of Anti-Radicalism and Democratic Student Power. They are positioned in the third and first quadrants respectively, and both are comparatively close to the "y" axis -- i.e., Factor Three. Administrative Student Power bridges the two axes, with comparatively high loadings on both factors, and Organization-al Student Power plays a minor role in the configuration. Academic Student Power is only modestly caught up in the Democratic/Radicalism axis, and is comparatively closer to Factor Two than are the other data variables.

The visual presentation of the student power variables in relation to Factors Two and Three, together with the factor loadings from which it was derived, suggest a third major structural feature in the student power belief system. This can be called the Democratic/Radicalism component, though one should not lose sight of the fact that Administrative Student Power is also moderately associated with the pattern. Further to this, one might note that only 30.6 of the variance on
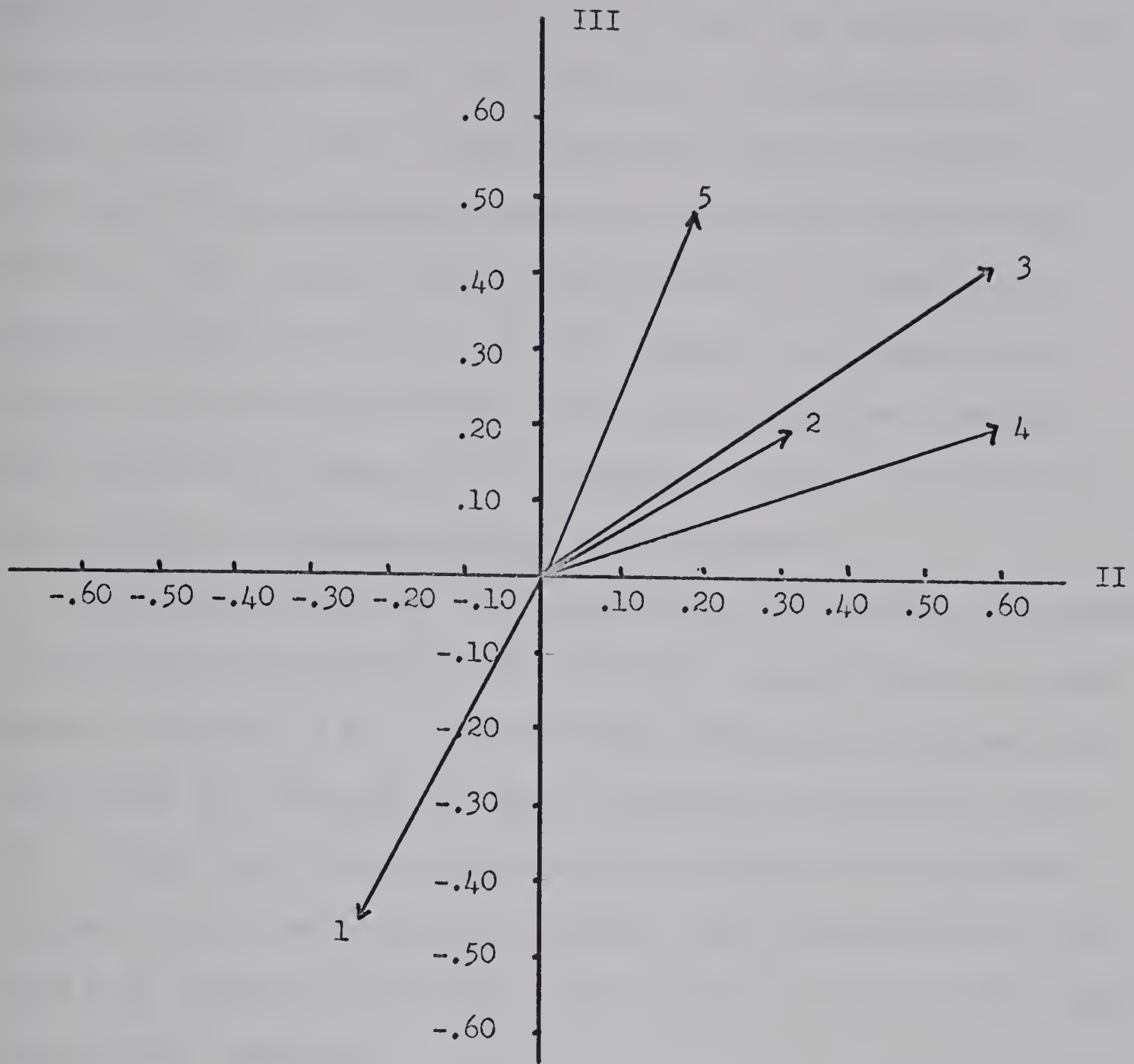
Symbols:

II: Factor II
III: Factor III

1. Anti-Radicalism
2. Organizational Student Power
3. Administrative Student Power
4. Academic Student Power
5. Democratic Student Power

Fig. 12 -- The structure of the student power attitude domain: graphical representation showing plots of variables on Factors II and III of rotated matrix, Table 19.

Democratic Student Power is shared with one or more of the
other variables in the set (most of it is extracted by
Factor Three). This is comparatively small in relation to
the other four variables, whose communalities range from
.499 to .609. Thus, most of the variance on Democratic
Student Power is unique. To the extent that democratic
values do enter the student power belief system, however,
they tend to be supportive of radical student politics in
the pursuit of administrative student power.

Our final "map" of the psychological terrain which seems
to contain the student power attitude constellation is pre-
sented in Figure 13. In this case, the data variables are
positioned in relation to their loadings on Factors I and
III. Since both these factors have already been utilized
as axes in the two previous graphs, the information in Fig-
ure 13 is largely redundant. We leave it to the reader with-
out further comment.

To sum up, we suggest that the student power belief
system is structured along three major axes. The first of
these is defined largely by Anti-Radicalism and Organizational
Student Power --- at its opposing poles. This axis, it has
been suggested, pertains to the desireability or undesirea-
bility of an organized, radical student movement. The second
axis is characterized by the Administrative and Academic
Student Power components, and seems to pertain largely to
the desireability or undesireability of broader student invol-
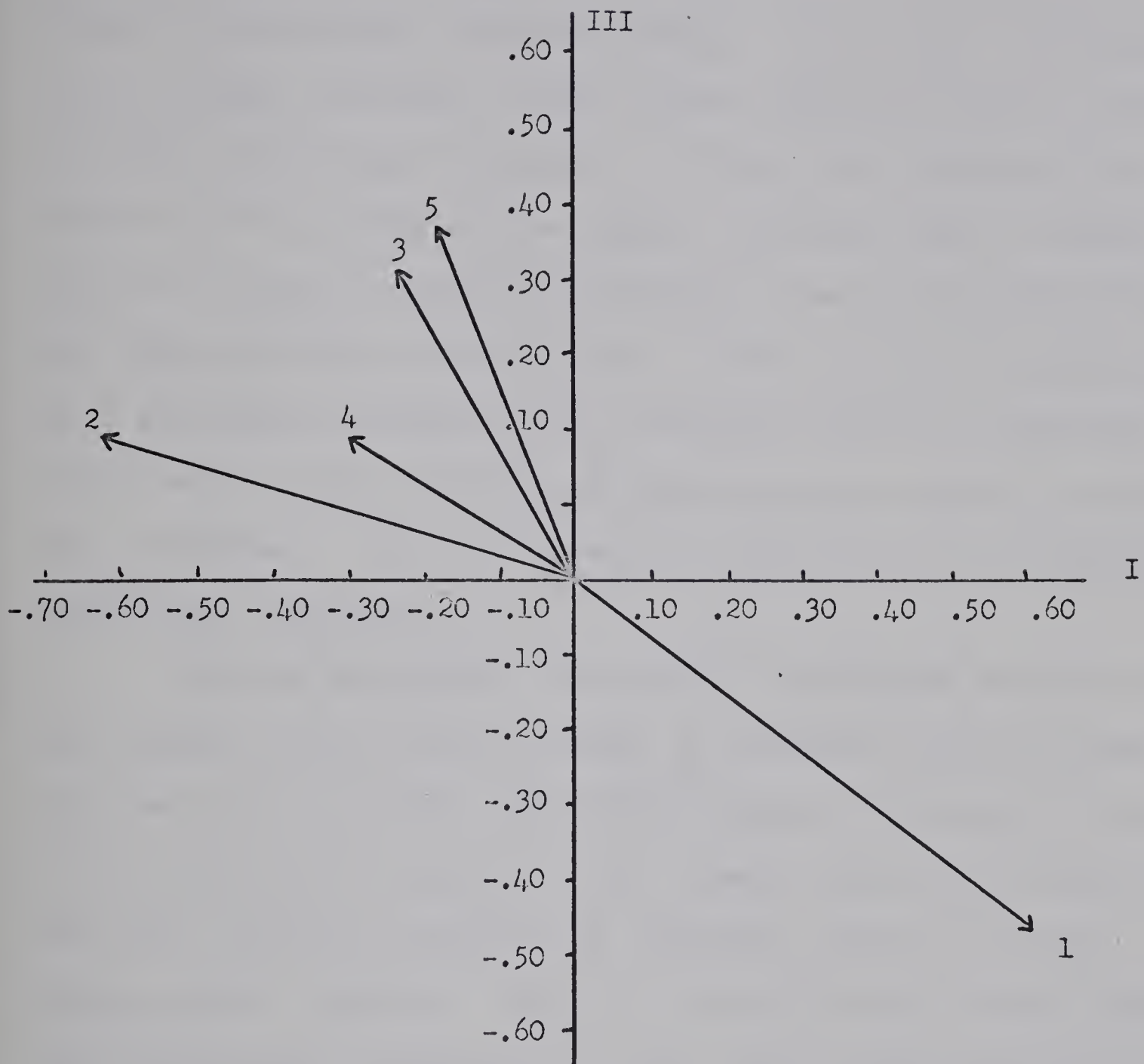
Symbols:

I: Factor I
III: Factor III

1. Anti-Radicalism
2. Organizational Student Power
3. Administrative Student Power
4. Academic Student Power
5. Democratic Student Power

Fig. 13. -- The structure of the student power atti-
tude domain: graphical representation showing plots of vari-
bles on Factors I and III of rotated matrix, Table 13.

vement in university decision making. Just over 73 percent of the common variance in the student power set can be said to occur along these two axes. A third axis picks up the remaining 25 percent of the common variance, and is characterized largely by Democratic Student Power, Pro-Radicalism, and Administrative Student Power. This has been interpreted as a Pro-Radical student power component that is supported by beliefs in the viability of democracy as a mode of university government. As such it may be referred to as a Democratic Radicalism component.

Having delineated these three structural features of the student power belief system, an important qualification must be borne in mind. The rotated matrix reported in Table 13 is factorially complex -- the common variance on each of the data variables tends to be "spread" across the three interpretable factors. Thus, in naming Factor One the "Organized Radicalism" component, we are summarizing only part of the information revealed in that pattern. The same can be said for the "Administrative/Academic" component -- and for the "Democratic Radicalism" component.

Nonetheless, it is possible to take account of these various qualifications empirically. This can be done by constructing composite measures from each of the three factors. Each variable can "contribute" to a particular factor/measure (or factor score, to use the technical term) according to its loading on that factor. Thus, for Factor One in the rotated

matrix, factor scores can be computed which would incorp-
orate a larger slice of the original (normalized) Anti-
Radicalism scores than of the original (normalized) Demo-
cratic Student Power scores. This procedure would continue
until a set of scores were computed which took into account
the main thrust of the Factor One pattern along with the
comparatively minor subtleties. The same could be done with
respect to Factors Two and Three.

On the basis of these factor scores, three composite
measures were created for further analysis in this study.
The variable whose scores were computed from Factor One
(Table 13) was assumed primarily to be an indicator of
attitudes towards Organized Radicalism. Similarly, the
second set of factor scores were assumed to be indices of
attitudes towards Student Participation. The third set of
factor scores are presumed to tap attitudes towards Democratic
Radicalism. These will be the key student power variables
from this point on in the paper. They are utilized because
they conveniently summarize the data, and because they are
thought to be empirically justifiable on the basis of the
factor analysis already discussed in detail in this chapter.

The sentiment domain

The cluster of variables which we have referred to as
the sentiment constellation appears to be structurally simp-
ler than was the case with the student power complex. The
unrotated factor matrix for the sentiment variables appears

to the left in Table 14. We need only note that the inclu-
sion of University Elitism in this set was largely fruitless.
Less than eight percent of the variance on the elitist dimen-
sion is shared with one or more of the sentiment variables.

Once again, factors were rotated orthogonally in an
attempt to view the sentiment cluster from a theoretically
more meaningful vantage point. The matrix of rotated fact-
ors appears to the right in Table 14. Factor One is char-
acterized by a substantial positive loading for Contentment,
and a substantial negative loading for Loneliness. System
Cynicism and Aimlessness are modestly (and negatively)
correlated with this pattern. Recalling for a moment the
content of the Loneliness and Contentment scales, Factor
One suggests a rather general satisfaction or contentmnet
pattern in the sentiment belief system. Individuals are
satisfied with university life in general, and with friend-
ship relations at university. Factor One extracts nearly
50 percent of the variance common to the sentiment variables,
and 20.6 percent of the total variance in the data.

Factor Two in the rotated matrix accounts for 32
percent of the variance that is common to two or more of the
sentiment variables, and 13.4 percent of the total variance.
This factor is defined by the Aimlessness and System Cynicism
loadings, with a modest negative loading for Contentment.
In contrast to the Loneliness and Contentment scales, Aimless-
ness and System Cynicism pertain more to the specifics of why

TABLE 14

FACTOR MATRICES,*SENTIMENT VARIABLES

Variables	Unrotated factors				h^2	Rotated factors			
	I	II	III	IV		I	II	III	IV
Contentment	-669	059	294	-031	539	659	-303	-114	-018
Loneliness	684	-360	058	-081	601	-696	096	-185	-272
System Cynicism	608	145	281	-059	474	-297	456	-109	-407
Aimlessness	458	433	-034	057	402	-148	602	121	-058
University Elitism	010	-128	175	163	074	-012	-030	-270	-019
PERCENT COMMON VARIANCE	71.6	17.2	9.6	1.2		49.2	32.1	7.0	11.2
PERCENT TOTAL VARIANCE	29.9	7.2	4.0	0.7	41.8	20.6	13.4	2.9	4.9
EIGENVALUES	1.50	.36	.20	.03					

Notes: *Factors were rotated orthogonally using the varimax technique. Decimals omitted in matrix.

an individual is in university, and how he reacts to the various institutional features which he encounters in that environment. We would suggest that an individual scoring high on both these variables would be focusing more on external rather than internal matters -- i.e., the institutional framework within which he functions, and his own role within that framework. The prevailing theme in both sets of items, however, appears to be a mistrust of the motives of others and, indeed, a questioning of one's own motives. In this respect, we shall call this component "Cynicism" while hastening to point out that the term is used descriptively rather than normatively.

Factors Three and Four of the rotated matrix presented in Table 14 seem to be of little consequence. Each extracts less than five percent of the total variance in the data, and neither appears particularly clear or indeed, interpretable, from a theoretical perspective. It shall be assumed, then, that the sentiment attitude constellation is structured along the two axes already described.

To clarify this structuring, Factors One and Two have been utilized as axes on a graph, with the data variables positioned at appropriate points in "space". This graph is presented in Figure 14. We note first that Loneliness and Contentment are located in the second and fourth quadrants towards the "x" axis -- i.e., Factor One, System Cynicism and Aimlessness, on the other hand, are located comparatively
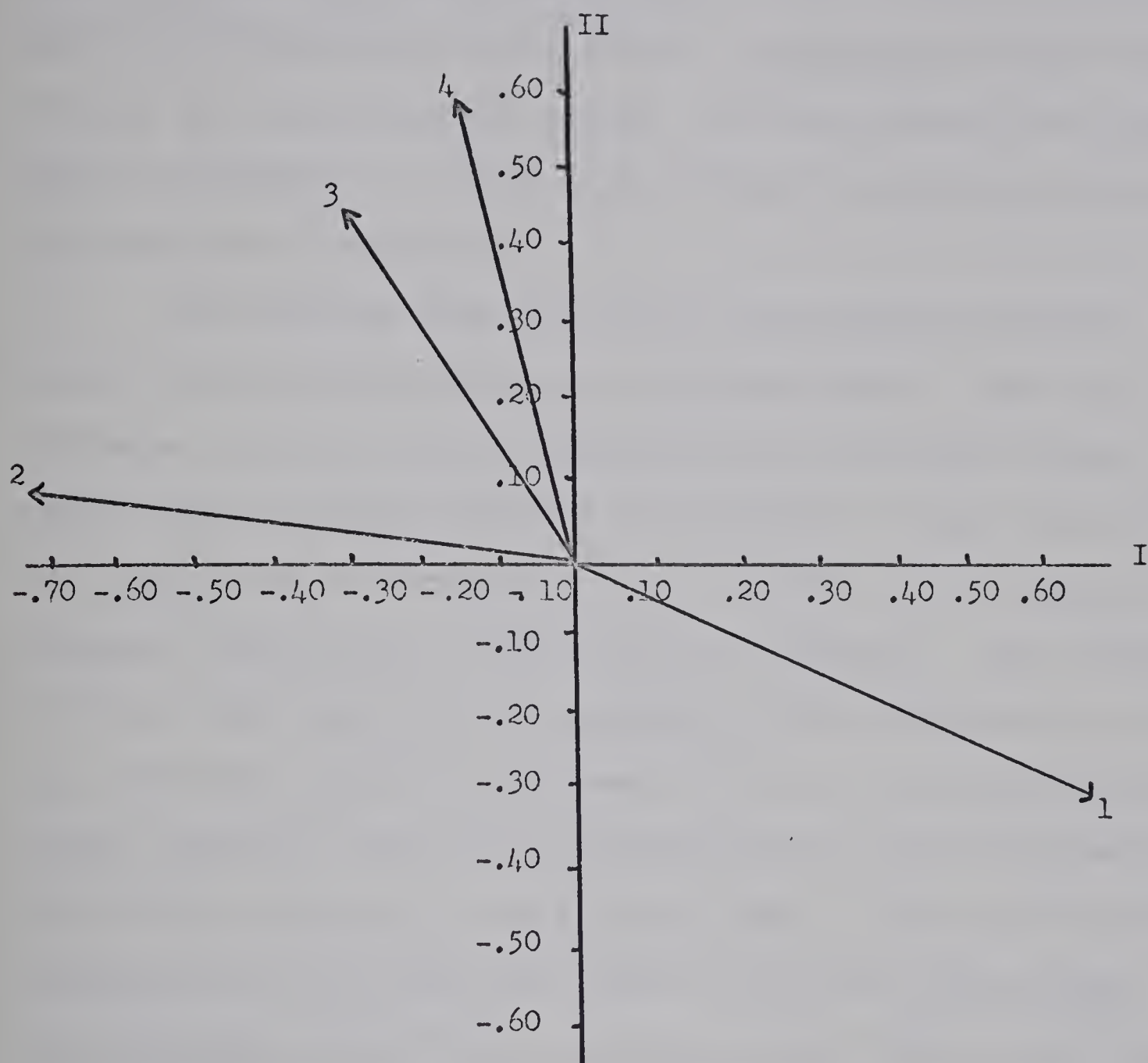
Symbols:

I: Factor I   1. Contentment
II: Factor II   2. Loneliness
                                  3. System Cynicism
                                  4. Aimlessness
                                  5. University Elitism (This variable
                                      is virtually at origin -- i.e.,
                                      zero correlation with both fac-
                                      tors.)

Fig. 14 --- The structure of the sentiment attitude
domain: graphical representation showing plots of variables
on Factors I and II of rotated matrix, Table 14.

closer to the "y" axis (Factor Two) in the second quadrant. Each set of variables constitutes a relatively independent cluster in "psychological space". To the extent that this space is bridged, it tends to be bridged largely by System Cynicism and Contentment.

We conclude from this that the sentiment belief system is structured along two principal axes. The first of these, incorporating Loneliness and Contentment seems to pertain to rather personal orientations of the individual within his environment -- i.e., whether he is happy or unhappy, and whether he has friends or doesn't. The second of these axes seems more suggestive of the orientations of the individual to his environment -- i.e., his evaluations of the specific features characteristic of the environment, and his own position in relation to them. These structural components can be summarized under the titles Contentment and Cynicism respectively, keeping in mind that we are now speaking of composite measures rather than the original Contentment and System Cynicism scales. Once again, the composites were calculated on the basis of factor loadings, and the resultant sets of factor scores became the new variables. For the duration of the thesis, then, when we speak of Contentment and Cynicism, we are speaking of the composite measures.

Conclusion: the interrelationships of the student power and sentiment composite variables

We can close with a brief discussion of the relationships among the new student power and sentiment composite variables. This may be thought of as a prelude to Chapter Six, in which we attempt to ascertain the causal implications of the sentiment variables in the determination of attitudes towards student power. The correlation matrix is presented in Table 15.

TABLE 15

CORRELATION MATRIX[+], STUDENT POWER AND

SENTIMENT FACTOR SCORES

Variables	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Organized Radicalism	.333*	.467*	-.130"	.370*
2. Student Participation		.436*	.030	.138"
3. Democratic Radicalism			-.044	.109"
4. Contentment				-.265*
5. Cynicism				1.000

Notes: + Pearson correlations
     * p   .001
     " p   .01
     ' p   .05

We look first at the intercorrelations of the student power variables. The strongest relationship, understandably, is between Organized Radicalism and Democratic Radicalism (r=.467). Students who tend to associate the idea of an organized student movement with radicalism also tend to associate

the democratization of the university with radicalism. The
relationship between Organized Radicalism and attitudes
towards Student Participation is somewhat weaker (r=.333).
This suggests again that an appreciable proportion of the
students do not necessarily associate broader involvement
in decision making with the cause of Organized Radicalism.

The correlation between Democratic Radicalism and
attitudes towards Student Participation is .436. This
suggests a somewhat interesting tendency on the part of
those who favor broader student participation: there is a
greater likelihood that radicalism will be endorsed when it
is perceived in terms of organizational and tactical features.
Given the size of the respective correlation coefficients,
however, one must caution that these are plausible interpre-
tations rather than absolute truth.

Turning to the sentiment variables, it is interest-
ing to note that the relationship between the newly-defined
Contentment and Cynicism measures is rather modest (r=.265).
Apparently, personal unhappiness is only moderately assoc-
iated with the more externalized discontent subsumed under
Cynicism. From a broader perspective, Contentment and
Cynicism are comparatively independent axes around which
the original sentiment variables are organized.

With regard to relationships across the domains,
one may note that Organized Radicalism and Contentment are
negatively related, though the relationship is rather weak.

(r=.130). However, Organized Radicalism does tend to go hand in hand with Cynicism (r=.370) and the latter may play a key causal or supportive role in terms of explaining that aspect of the student power belief system.

Those who favor increasing Student Participation in university decision making are not significantly differentiated on the Contentment dimension (r=.030), but they tend to be somewhat Cynical (r=.138). The same can be said for the relationships between Democratic Radicalism and Contentment (r=.040) and between Democratic Radicalism and Cynicism (r=.109). For the moment, this does not augur well for the potential explanatory power of Cynicism and Contentment in relation to attitudes towards Student Participation and Democratic Radicalism.

One suspects, however, that there is reason to conclude on a more optimistic note. Having looked at a rather restricted set of intercorrelations, it is not surprising that there is so little covariance across the student power and sentiment belief systems. There was little reason to expect that attitudes towards student power could be explained so easily. Instead, it seems more plausible to (a) include other potentially explanatory variables in the analysis, and (b) search for the independent main effects of these variables and their interaction effects -- in determining attitudes towards student power.

This matter will be taken up in Chapter Six. The

"other variables" spoken of, of course, are the political
interest, sense of efficacy, and party preference variables.
Before proceeding to Chapter Six, it is appropriate that
we examine these political variables by way of completing
the sample profile initiated in Chapter Three. Further to
this presentation of univariate frequency distributions,
we shall discuss the interrelationships among these polit-
ical variables as well.

CHAPTER V

INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE

POLITICAL VARIABLES

The primary objectives of this study, it will be
be recalled, were twofold: the development of a set of
attitude scales which seemed to measure attitudes within
the student power belief system; and the discovery of some
of the factors which seem to play a causal and/or support-
ive role in terms of the development and maintenance of
that belief system. Within certain limitations of which
the reader will be aware, the first of these objectives has
been met. Concerning the second of these objectives, comp-
osite measures have been developed that are presumed to tap
attitudes within the "sentiment" domain -- that is, the
individual's sentiments about the university experience.

In addition to the sentiment variables, however, we
have also chosen to investigate the possible causal implica-
tions of certain "political" variables in terms of the devel-
opment or maintenance of attitudes towards student power.
These political variables include Interest in National Pol-
itics, Interest in University Politics, Sense of Efficacy in
University Politics, and party preference at both the federal
and provincial levels of government. (We shall also include

a measure of avowed, or potential Militancy in this set.
However, the latter will not be treated as an independent
variable in this study. Militancy will be incorporated into
Chapter Seven as a dependent variable relative to the
student power, sentiment, and political variables).

At this point, then, we leave the student power and
sentiment domains in order to give further consideration to
the political variables. This shall consist of (a) the
completion of the "sample profile" in terms of univariate
frequency distributions; and (b) some discussion of inter-
relationships among the political variables. Besides giving
the reader a clear picture of the distribution of certain
traits in the sample being studied, this material may afford
us a better understanding of relationships to be specified
in later chapters.

Our first consideration will be frequency distrib-
utions on the seven political variables in question. Each
distribution is presented visually in Figures 15 to 20, and
is discussed briefly in the paragraphs below. It should
be noted that on some variables the score range being reported
is a slightly adjusted range. The adjustment involved the
collapsing of two or three of the upper and/or lower extremes
categories -- categories which contained only a few cases.
The adjusted ranges involve very little distortion of the
actual distributions, and are being reported because the ad-

justed score results are the ones utilized in subsequent chapters.

Interest in National Politics. -- Scores on this. measure ranged from zero to nine (following adjustment) with a mean of 4.2 and a median of 3.8. The distribution is only slightly skewed, with most of the students opting for the middle range. The students sampled could be characterized as moderately interested in national political affairs, with comparatively small numbers of them manifesting either extreme interest or extreme disinterest.

Interest in University Politics. -- Following adjustment, scores on this index ranged from zero to 9. The mean and median were 4.2 and 3.9 respectively. Once again, the skew was slight, with most students scoring in the low-to-moderate range. Few cases were observed at the extreme tails of the distribution. As was the case with Interest in National Politics, the students sampled tended to be only moderately interested in university and student politics.

Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. -- This index had an adjusted range of zero to nine. The mean and median were 4.5 and 4.1 respectively. Though the skew was slight, it is interesting to note that frequencies drop off dramatically towards the upper tail of the distribution (specifically, scoring categories eight and nine). At best, respondents felt only moderately efficacious as regards national political affairs.

FREQUENCIES

SCORES
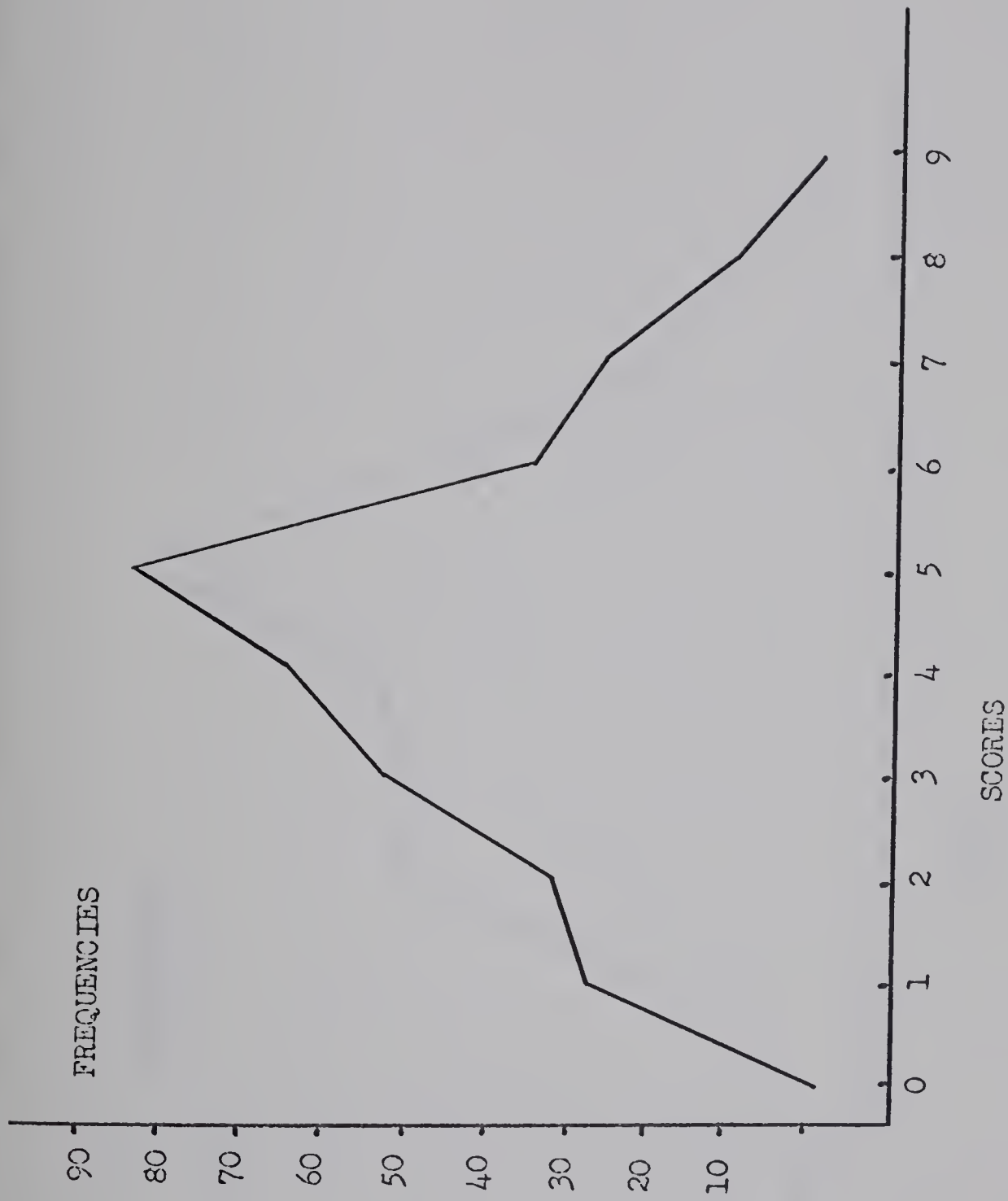
Fig. 15. -- Frequency distribution, index of Interest in National Politics.
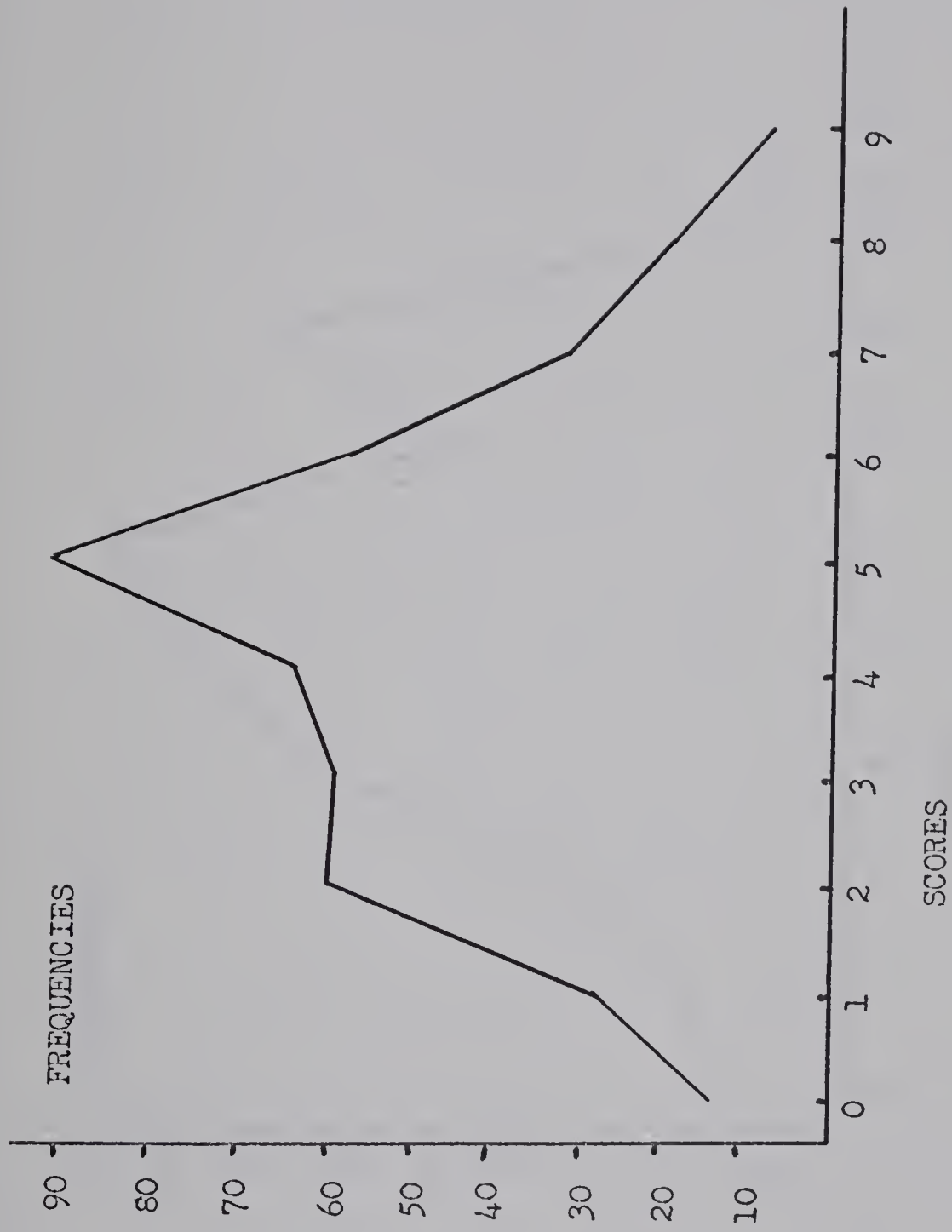
Fig. 16. -- Frequency distribution, index of Interest in University Politics
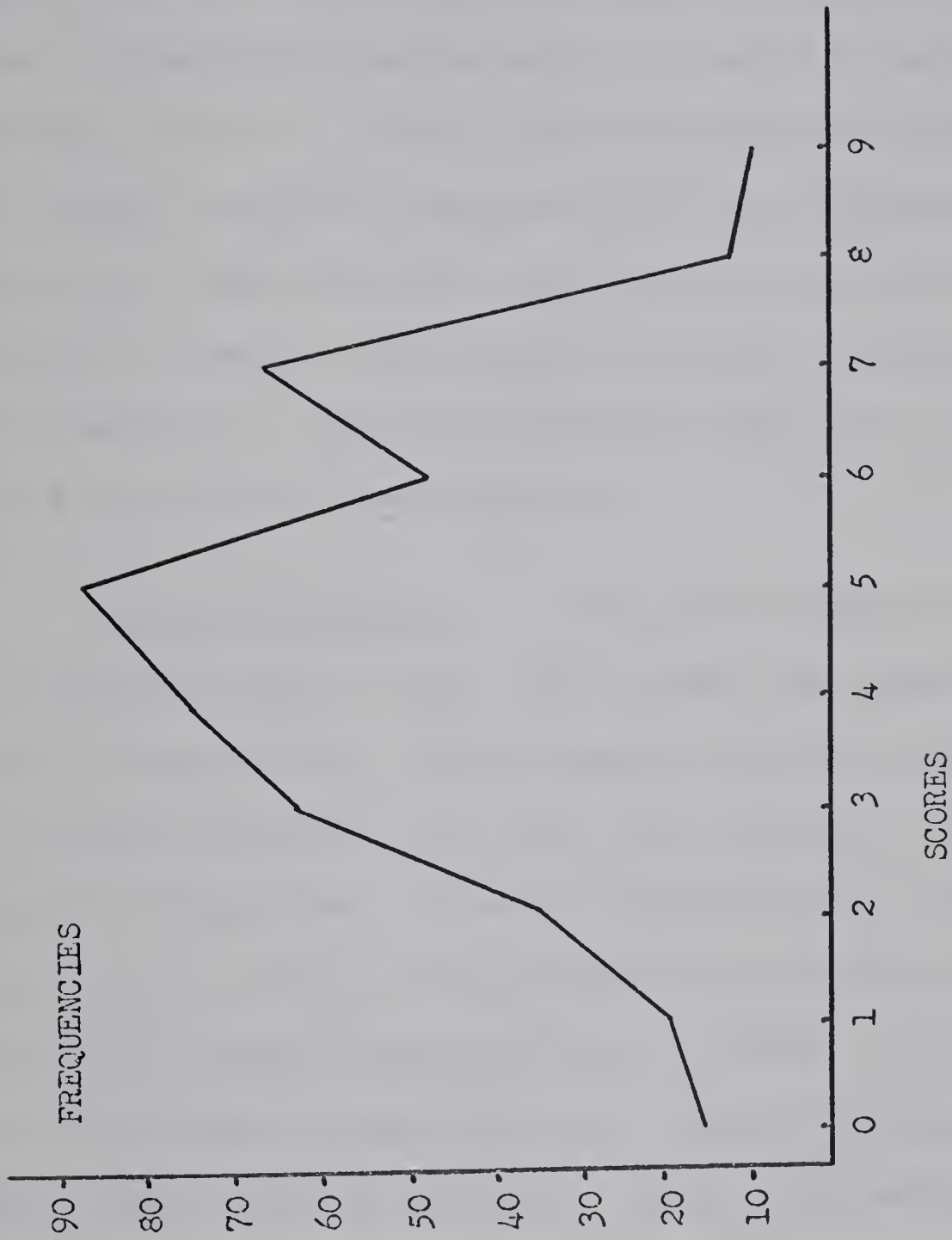
Fig. 17 -- Frequency distribution, index of Sense of Efficacy in National Politics

Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. -- The
distribution of scores on this one-item index was very
heavily skewed. With adjusted scores ranging from one to
three, the mean and median were 1.7 and 2.2 respectively.
The modal score was three, indicating that 40 percent of
the students sampled disagreed with the suggestion that
"University administrators and faculty pay very little
attention to people like myself in making decisions about
the university." That statement was endorsed, however,
by 21.8 percent of the students.

Avowed Militancy. -- The actual range of scores on
this index was one to six, with a mean and median of 3.2
and 2.7 respectively. Most students scored in the third
and fourth categories, and very few scored in the fifth
and sixth categories. This is significant in that scores
of five or six imply a willingness to participate in either
a sit-in or violent demonstration or both -- if the student
felt the grievance warranted it. Only 6.5 percent of the
entire sample were so willing. It is interesting to note,
however, that an appreciable number of students say they
would be willing to participate in a class boycott (34.6 per-
cent) in the event of a perceived legitimate grievance against
faculty and administrators.

Provincial Party Preference. -- The classification of
respondents according to provincial party preference reveals
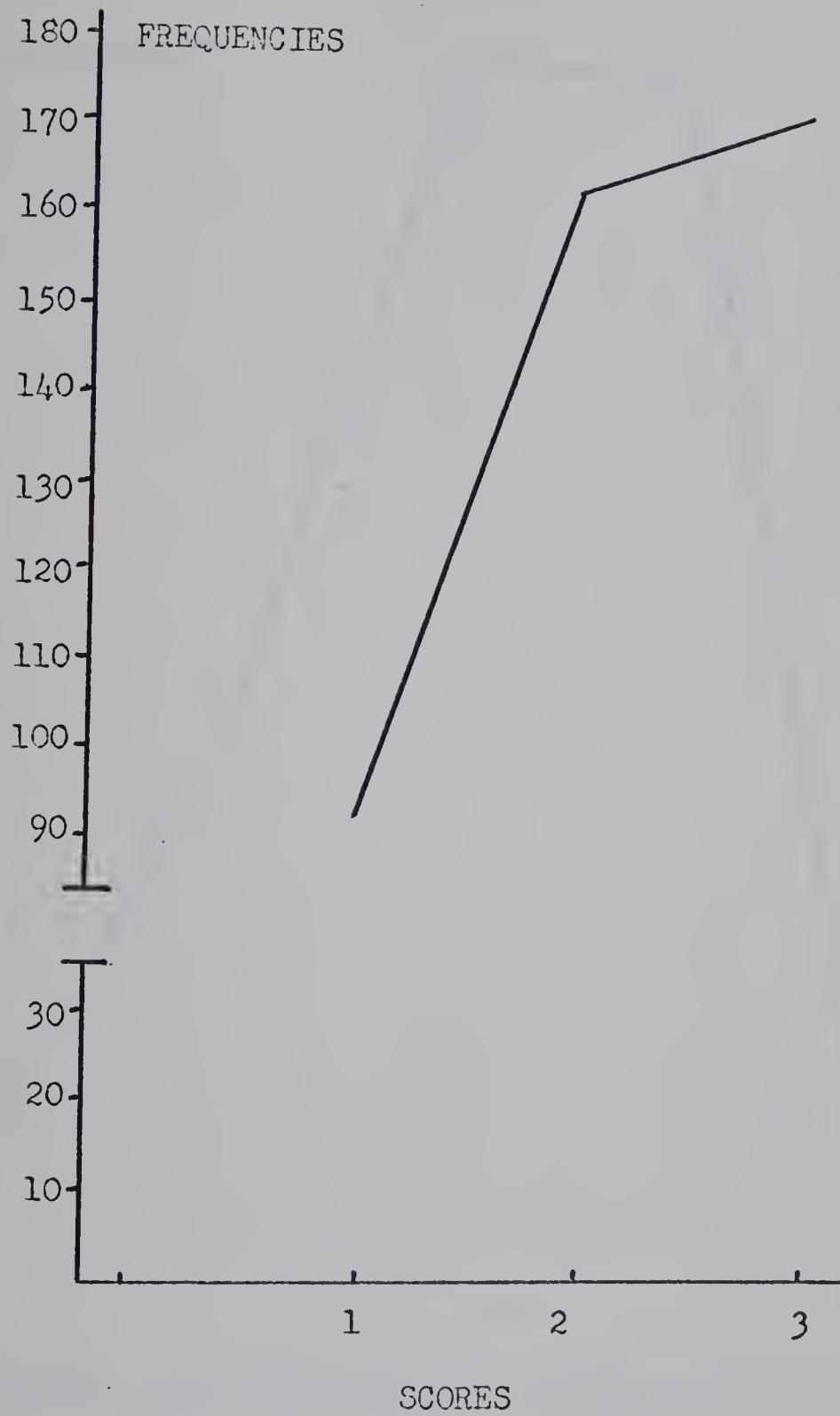
Fig. 18. --- Frequency distribution, index of
Sense of Efficacy in University Politics.
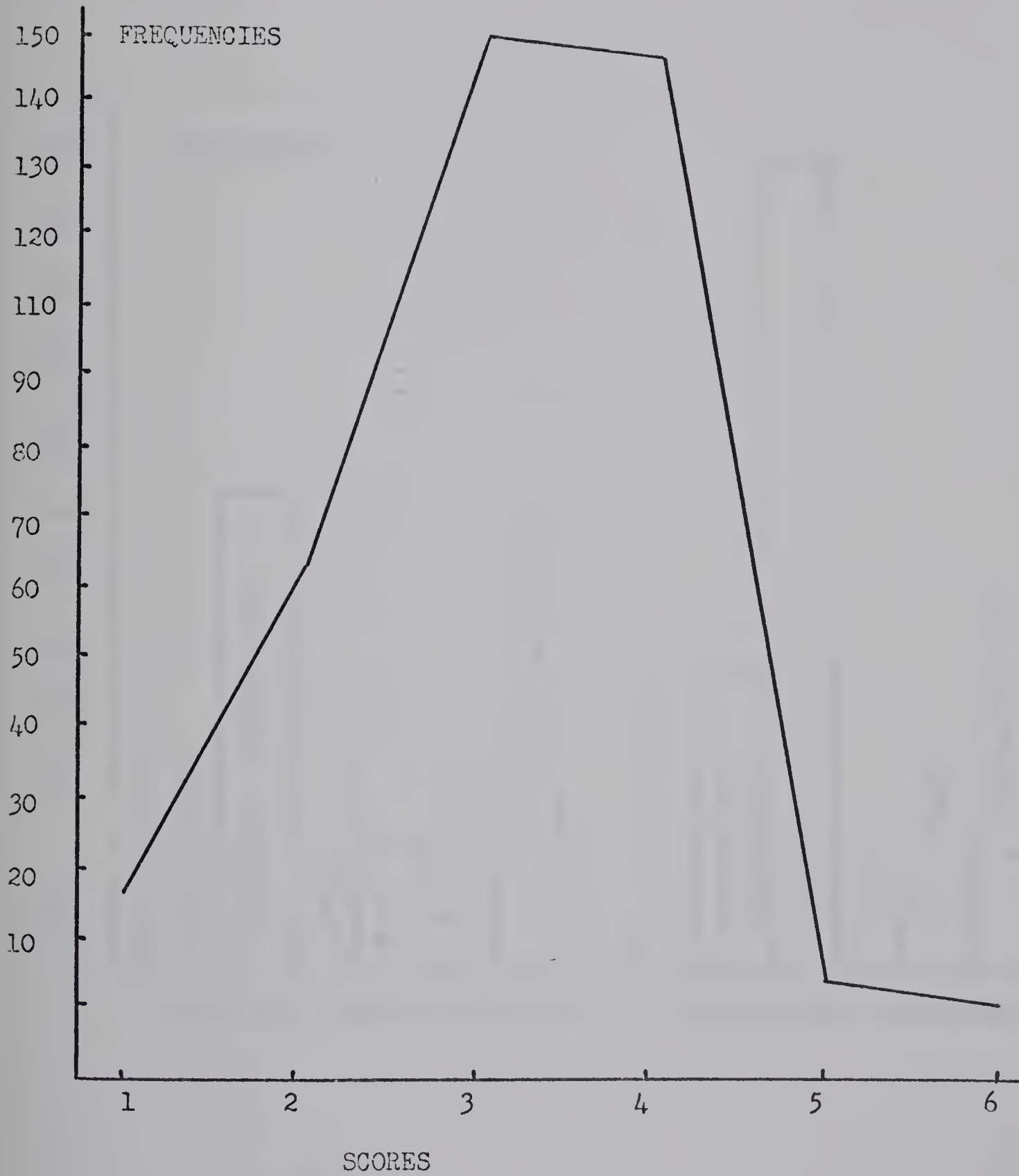
Fig. 19 -- Frequency distribution, index of
avowed Militancy.
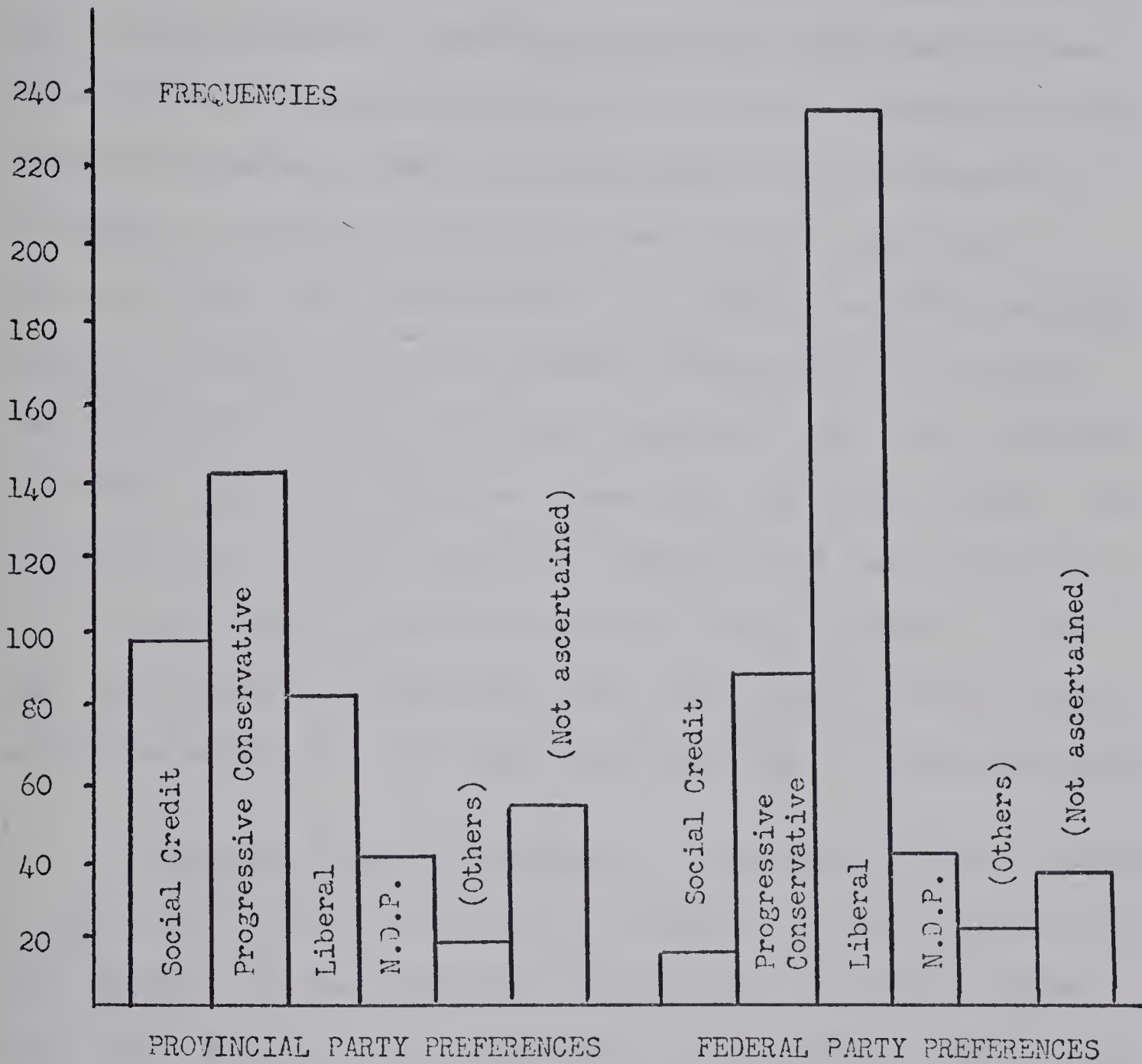
Fig. 20. -- Frequency distributions,
party preference variables.

a number of interesting points. First, the proportion of
provincial Progressive Conservative supporters (32.7 percent)
is larger than the proportion of provincial Social Credit
supporters (22.7 percent). Why this would be the case is
open to speculation, though one suspects that the age var-
iable might be a relevant one to consider. Further to this,
Liberal supporters tend to be somewhat over-represented --
in terms of voting patterns in the general population --
while the New Democratic Party is slightly underrepresented.
Nearly 12 percent of the students sampled did not answer
the provincial party preference question, and four percent
said they supported parties other than the four listed. For
the most part, those selecting "Others" did not elaborate,
and the few who did elaborate gave trivial answers. (We
take the liberty of assuming that the "North Garneau Liber-
ation Movement" was not cited seriously as a preferred party.)

Federal Party Preference. -- The most obvious feature
of this distribution pertains to support for the federal Lib-
eral party. Of the students sampled, 54.7 percent stated
that their federal party preference was Liberal, while only
20.3 percent said they supported the Progressive Conservative
party. Given the timing of the study (questionnaires were
completed in May and June, 1969) it seems plausible to attrib-
ute these extreme differences to the alleged charisma of the
Prime Minister. Such an explanation, however, remains highly

speculative.

Meanwhile, only 12 of the students sampled (2.8 per-cent) said they supported the Social Credit party federally, and 9.8 percent indicated support for the N.D.P. Four per-cent of the students said they supported "other" parties federally, and generally did not elaborate. There were 36 refusals to answer (8.4. percent of the sample).

Having looked at univariate frequency distributions for the political variables in question, let us now consider interrelationships among them. Initially, we shall consider interrelationships among the political interest, sense of efficacy, and militancy variables, before looking in more detail at the ways in which these relate to federal and prov-incial party preferences. The former relationships are summarized in Table 16, using Kendall rank order correlations.

TABLE 16

RANK ORDER CORRELATIONS*, POLITICAL VARIABLES

Variables	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
1. Interest in National Politics	---	.383**	.166**	.028	.094"
2. Interest in University Politics		---	.110**	.029	.195**
3. Sense of Efficacy, National Politics			---	.232**	.023
4. Sense of Efficacy, University Politics				---	-.042
5. Avowed Militancy					---

Notes: *Kendall's Tau; **p .001; "p .01; N = 428.

As one might expect, Interest in University Politics
and Interest in National Politics are significantly related.
Those who are more interested in politics in the larger con-
text also tend to be more interested in the politics of the
university community. Similarly, Sense of Efficacy in
National Politics is significantly related to Sense of
Efficacy in University Politics. This is rather curious in
that the "university efficacy" variable was void of any
overt mention of politics. It is interesting that those
who feel that public officials and government leaders care
about them also tend to feel that university "faculty and
administrators" care about them; and vice versa. It is
apparent that at least some students relate politics in the
university context and politics in the larger context.

Curiously, however, though each of the political
interest variables is significantly related to Sense of
Efficacy in National Politics, neither is significantly
related to Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. Thus,
political interest tends to be associated with stronger
feelings of efficacy in national politics, but not with
stronger feelings of efficacy in university politics. This
is the case even with regard to Interest in University
Politics. This is an interesting finding in itself, and
suggests the possibility that the efficacy variables may
relate to the student power variables in rather different
ways.

The latter point is very marginally supported by the findings with regard to Avowed Militancy. Militancy is only slightly (and insignificantly) associated with Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, and with Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. The correlations, however, are in opposite directions --- negative in the case of "university efficacy" and positive in the case of "national efficacy". On the other hand, Avowed Militancy is significantly associated with Interest in University Politics and, to a lesser extent, with Interest in National Politics. In terms of the variables under consideration, the "militants" in our sample would appear to be characterized only by higher levels of political interest.

Finally, we consider the relationships between each of the party preference variables, and each of the political interest, sense of efficacy, and militancy variables. These relationships are more cumbersome to summarize, in that the party preference variables obviously cannot be incorporated into correlation coefficients. Accordingly, we shall present percentage distributions in an attempt to show the way in which the various political traits are distributed within party preference classifications. For ease of presentation, scores on each of the "non-party" variables have been collapsed into four categories, each of which includes roughly 25 percent of the cases. (Sense of Efficacy in University Politics constitutes an exception, in that this variable

had already been trichotomized.)

Interest in National Politics and Party Preference. --
The relationships between Interest in National Politics and
party preferences at both the federal and provincial levels
of government are summarized in Table 17. Looking at dis-
tributions within federal parties, two interesting features
stand out. First, N.D.P. supporters seem to be somewhat
more interested in national political affairs than do "non-
identifiers" and supporters of the other parties. About a
third of the New Democrats scored comparatively high on
national political interest, while the comparable proportion
for the entire sample was 25.5 percent. Conversely, only
14.3 percent of the federal New Democrats (N=42) scored
comparatively low on national political interest. The
comparable proportion for the entire sample was 20.7 percent.

Secondly, respondents who stated that their federal
party preference was Social Credit tended to score in the
"moderately low" and "low" ranges on Interest in National
Politics. In this case, however, we are speaking of a total
of 12 cases and can attach little significance to the finding.

Provincially, those who indicated support for the
N.D.P., the Progressive Conservative party, and "others",
tended to score in the higher range on Interest in National
Politics. Conversely, we note that only 16.3 percent of
the Conservatives and 10.0 percent of the N.D.P. supporters
indicated comparatively little political interest. The

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTISAN PREFERENCE AND

INTEREST IN NATIONAL POLITICS*

Partisan Preference	Interest in National Politics					
	L	ML	MH	H	Total	(N)

Federal Political Parties

P.C.	25.1	31.0	19.5	24.0	100	(87)
N.D.P.	14.3	23.8	28.6	33.3	100	(42)
S.C.	33.4	41.6	16.7	8.3	100	(12)
Liberal	19.1	33.9	22.6	25.2	100	(234)
Others	23.5	35.3	11.8	29.5	100	(17)
No Answer	22.2	33.4	19.4	25.0	100	(36)
TOTAL	20.7	32.0	21.7	25.5	100	
(No. of cases)	(89)	(137)	(93)	(109)		(428)

Provincial Political Parties

P.C.	16.3	27.1	27.1	29.3	100	(140)
N.D.P.	10.0	30.0	30.0	30.0	100	(40)
S.C.	27.7	34.0	16.5	22.6	100	(97)
Liberal	20.4	41.0	18.1	20.4	100	(83)
Others	23.5	29.4	17.6	29.5	100	(17)
No Answer	29.4	29.4	17.6	23.6	100	(51)
TOTAL	20.7	32.0	21.7	25.5	100	
(No. of cases)	(89)	(137)	(93)	(109)		(428)

Notes: *Row percentages total 100. Abbreviations used:
P.C. -- Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. -- New
Democratic Party; S.C. -- Social Credit; L -- Low
(Interest); ML -- Moderately Low; MH -- Moderately
High; H -- High.

comparable "low interest" proportions for Social Credit

supporters and "non-identifiers" were 27.7 percent and

29.4 percent respectively. Provincial Liberal supporters

tended to score in the "moderately low" range on national

political interest.

Interest in University Politics and Party Pref-

erence. -- The results in Table 18 suggest a pattern similar

to that observed in the case of the party preference vari-

ables and Interest in National Politics. Differences, how-

ever, seem to be slightly more pronounced. Once again,

federal New Democrats tended to score comparatively high on

Interest in University Politics, relative to the sample

average (40.4 percent compared with 26.8 percent). Eight

of the twelve Social Credit supporters scored in the "low"

and "moderately low" ranges, while Liberals and Progressive

Conservatives tended to be relatively evenly distributed

across the interest spectrum. Those indicating support for

"other" political parties showed a slight tendency to score

in the moderately high and high ranges, while the reverse

was true for those who refused to answer.

Provincially, N.D.P. supporters were again charac-

terized by higher levels of Interest in University Politics

(42.5 percent scored in the highest range). Provincial

Progressive Conservative supporters showed a similar, though

less pronounced tendency. Social Credit supporters tended

TABLE 18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTISAN PREFERENCE AND

INTEREST IN UNIVERSITY POLITICS*

Partisan Preference	Interest in University Politics					
	L	ML	MH	H	Total	(N)
Federal Political Parties						
P.C.	29.7	25.2	18.4	26.3	100	(87)
N.D.P.	9.6	30.9	19.1	40.4	100	(42)
S.C.	41.7	25.0	16.7	16.6	100	(12)
Liberal	22.7	28.2	23.1	26.0	100	(234)
Others	17.7	23.5	35.3	23.6	100	(17)
No Answer	25.1	36.1	16.7	22.3	100	(36)
TOTAL	23.3	28.3	21.5	26.8	100	
(No. of cases)	(100)	(121)	(92)	(115)		(428)
Provincial Political Parties						
P.C.	19.9	26.4	24.3	29.2	100	(140)
N.D.P.	5.0	30.0	22.5	42.5	100	(40)
S.C.	36.0	23.7	18.6	21.6	100	(97)
Liberal	25.3	31.3	20.5	22.8	100	(83)
Others	11.8	29.4	35.3	23.6	100	(17)
No Answer	23.5	35.3	15.7	25.5	100	(51)
TOTAL	23.3	28.3	21.5	26.8	100	
(No. of cases)	(100)	(121)	(92)	(115)		(428)

Notes: *Row percentages total approximately 100 due to
rounding errors. Abbreviations used: P.C. --
Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. -- New Democratic
Party; S.C. -- Social Credit; L -- Low (Interest);
ML -- Moderately Low; MH -- Moderately High; H --
High.

to be comparatively disinterested in university politics, with 36 percent of them scoring in the lowest range (the sample average at the lowest level of Interest in University Politics was 23.3 percent). Once again, Liberals tended to be somewhat evenly distributed across the interest spectrum, as were those who indicated support for no provincial party. Those indicating support for "other" political parties tended to score in the moderately high range on Interest in University Politics.

Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, and Party Preferences. -- The data presented in Table 19 again show that N.D.P. supporters are somewhat different from the remainder of the sample. Only 9.5 percent of the federal New Democrats indicate a high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, compared with a sample average of 20.8 percent. Excepting Social Credit supporters, in all other categories the proportion of students indicating a comparatively high sense of political efficacy was twice the proportion observed in the case of N.D.P. supporters. None of the federal Social Credit supporters indicated a high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. This, we suggest, is understandable.

Provincially, 12.5 percent of the New Democrats indicate a relatively high sense of efficacy with regard to national political affairs. This compares with a sample average of 20.8 percent. Interestingly, only 15.6 percent

TABLE 19

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTISAN PREFERENCE AND SENSE OF

EFFICACY IN NATIONAL POLITICS*

Partisan Preference	Sense of Efficacy in National Politics					
	L	ML	NH	H	Total	(N)
Federal Political Parties						
P.C.	13.7	32.1	28.7	25.2	100	(87)
N.D.P.	21.4	42.8	26.1	9.5	100	(42)
S.C.	8.3	66.6	25.0	0.0	100	(12)
Liberal	15.8	27.8	35.4	21.9	100	(234)
Others	5.9	35.3	35.2	23.6	100	(17)
No answer	22.2	33.4	16.7	27.8	100	(36)
TOTAL	15.8	32.0	31.3	20.8	100	
(No. of cases)	(68)	(137)	(134)	(89)		(428)
Provincial Political Parties						
P.C.	12.2	30.0	31.5	26.4	100	(140)
N.D.P.	20.0	37.5	30.0	12.5	100	(40)
S.C.	16.5	35.0	28.8	19.6	100	(97)
Liberal	20.4	27.7	36.2	15.6	100	(83)
Others	5.9	23.5	47.0	23.5	100	(17)
No answer	17.6	37.3	23.5	21.7	100	(51)
TOTAL	15.8	32.0	31.3	20.8	100	
(No. of cases)	(68)	(137)	(134)	(89)		(428)

Notes: "Row percentages total approximately 100 due to
rounding errors. Abbreviations used: P.C. ---
Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. -- New Democratic
Party; S.C. --- Social Credit; L --- Low (Sense of
Efficacy); ML -- Moderately Low; MH -- Moderately
High; H -- High.

of the provincial Liberal supporters felt highly effica-
cious. Of the 17 respondents who said they supported parties
other than the four listed, 12 scored in the "moderately
High" and "high" ranges on Sense of Efficacy in National
Politics -- a rather curious finding.

Provincial Progressive Conservatives showed a
slight tendency to score in the high range on sense of
political efficacy -- 26.4 percent of them scored in that
category, while the sample average was 20.8 percent.

Sense of Efficacy in University Politics, and
Party Preference. -- Once again, N.D.P. supporters are
highly differentiated from other students in the sample
(see Table 20). Only 21.4 percent of the federal New
Democrats indicated a high Sense of Efficacy in University
Politics, compared with a sample average of 40.2 percent.
In all other categories, over 40 percent of the respond-
ents indicated that they felt highly efficacious in terms
of university faculty and administrators. A similar pattern
is evident in the case of supporters of provincial parties.
This time, however, only 17.5 percent of the N.D.P. sup-
porters felt highly efficacious in university politics.
A further variation pertains to provincial Liberal support-
ers, who tended to feel somewhat less efficacious when
compared with the total sample.

TABLE 20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTISAN PREFERENCE AND SENSE

OF EFFICACY IN UNIVERSITY POLITICS*

Partisan Preference	Sense of Efficacy in University Politics				
	Low	Moderate	High	Total	(N)
Federal Political Parties					
P.C.	18.4	36.8	44.8	100	(87)
N.D.P.	35.7	42.9	21.4	100	(42)
S.C.	41.7	39.7	40.6	100	(12)
Liberal	19.6	39.7	40.6	100	(234)
Others	23.5	35.3	41.2	100	(17)
No answer	19.5	33.3	47.3	100	(36)
TOTAL	21.8	38.1	40.2	100	
(No. of cases)	(93)	(163)	(172)		(428)
Provincial Political Parties					
P.C.	21.4	36.4	42.4	100	(140)
N.D.P.	30.0	52.5	17.5	100	(40)
S.C.	18.6	34.0	47.4	100	(97)
Liberal	25.3	39.8	34.9	100	(83)
Others	23.5	29.4	47.1	100	(17)
No answer	15.7	39.2	45.1	100	(51)
TOTAL	21.8	38.1	40.2	100	
(No. of cases)	(93)	(163)	(172)		(428)

Notes: *Row percentages total approximately 100 due to
rounding errors. Abbreviations used: P.C. --
Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. --- New Democratic
Party; S.C. --- Social Credit.

Avowed Militancy and Party Preference. -- The
relationship between Avowed Militancy and party preference
is summarized in Table 21. The most outstanding feature
of this table pertains to the rather large differences
between N.D.P. and Progressive Conservative supporters
both federally and provincially. First, the comparatively
extreme militant category (which incorporates the sit-in
and violent demonstration options) includes 19 percent of
the federal New Democrats, and only 2.3 percent -- i.e.,
two respondents -- of the federal Progressive Conservative
supporters. The extreme militancy options were endorsed
by two of the 12 federal Social Credit supporters, by 5.1
percent of the Liberal supporters, 5.9 percent of those
supporting "other" parties, and 8.4 percent of those who
did not indicate a preference.

"Moderately high" levels of militancy were endorsed
by only 24.1 percent of the federal Progressive Conserva-
tives, with other categories represented in proportions
ranging from 31.0 to 39.7 percent. At the other end of the
militancy spectrum, 7.2 percent of the federal New Democrats
scored "low", while the comparable proportion for the Pro-
gressive Conservatives was 39.1 percent. A rather surpris-
ingly large proportion of New Democrats (42.9 percent)
endorsed only "moderately low" levels of Avowed Militancy.

Provincially, the pattern varies somewhat. The

TABLE 21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PARTISAN PREFERENCE AND

LEVELS OF AVOWED MILITANCY*

Partisan Preference	Avowed Militancy					
	L	ML	MH	H	Total	(N)

Federal Political Parties

	L	ML	MH	H	Total	(N)
P.C.	39.1	34.5	24.1	2.3	100	(87)
N.D.P.	7.2	42.9	31.0	19.0	100	(42)
S.C.	16.7	33.3	33.3	16.6	100	(12)
Liberal	19.2	35.9	39.7	5.1	100	(234)
Others	29.4	29.4	35.3	5.9	100	(17)
No answers	33.3	27.8	30.6	8.4	100	(36)
TOTAL	23.6	35.3	34.6	6.5	100	
(No. of cases)	(101)	(151)	(148)	(28)		(428)

Provincial Political Parties

	L	ML	MH	H	Total	(N)
P.C.	25.0	32.9	40.7	1.4	100	(140)
N.D.P.	7.5	40.0	30.0	22.5	100	(40)
S.C.	33.0	37.1	26.8	3.1	100	(97)
Liberal	14.4	38.6	34.9	12.0	100	(83)
Others	29.4	29.4	29.4	11.8	100	(17)
No answer	27.4	31.4	37.3	4.0	100	(51)
TOTAL	23.6	35.3	34.6	6.5	100	
(No. of cases)	(101)	(151)	(148)	(28)		(428)

Notes: *Row percentages total <u>approximately</u> 100 due to
rounding errors. Abbreviations used: P.C. --
Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. -- New Democratic
Party; S.C. -- Social Credit; L -- Low (Avowed
Militancy); ML -- Moderately Low; MH --- Moderately
High; H -- High.

discrepancies between the New Democrats and the Progressive
Conservatives are sustained -- at the extremes of the mili-
tancy spectrum. It will be noted, however, that a large
proportion (40.7 percent) of the provincial Progressive
Conservative supporters endorsed "moderately high" levels
of militancy. Provincial Social Credit supporters tended
to score comparatively low on militancy, as did those
indicating no party preference. At the upper extreme,
meanwhile, we find an increased proportion of Liberals and
supporters of "other" political parties.

We can summarize this discussion of the political
variables utilized in the study by making three general
points. First, the students sampled tended to be "moderate"
on virtually all points -- moderately interested in univer-
sity political affairs, moderately interested in national
political affairs, apparently, and willing to engage in mod-
erate types of campus political behavior. They tended to
feel moderately efficacious in national politics, and
generally chose the two most "realistic" party options, both
federally and provincially. Only in the case of Sense of
Efficacy in University Politics was there an "extreme" dis-
tribution, in that a "high" sense of efficacy was the mode.

A second point concerns some of the interrelationships
among the political variables. On the one hand, the fact
that Interest in University Politics and Avowed Militancy
are correlated suggests that the former may play a key role

in the development or maintenance of attitudes towards
student power. At the same time, the weak negative rela-
tionship between Sense of Efficacy in University Politics
and Avowed Militancy suggests that the former -- if it is
at all related to attitudes towards student power -- may
be related in a negative sense. We are suggesting -- very
tentatively -- that attitudes towards student power may be
related to high Interest in University Politics in conjunc-
tion with a low Sense of Efficacy in University Politics.

Finally, it seems clear that the largest party
differences in the data tend to be between the New Democra-
tic Party and the remainder of the sample -- particularly
the Progressive Conservative Party. Moreover, the Pro-
gressive Conservative Party itself tends to differ some-
what from the remaining parties. This is particularly
so in the case of distributions on Avowed Militancy. It
may well be that we shall find the Conservatives and New
Democrats at the opposite extremes in terms of the various
attitudes assumed to lie within the student power belief
system.

The latter point raises the question as to whether
or not federal and provincial party preferences tend to be
the same. The answer is a qualified "yes". Table 22 shows
a crosstabulation of provincial party preferences by federal
party preference, and the results are rather fascinating.
Our main interests are the percentages in the main diagonal,
in that these indicate "consistency" in terms of support

TABLE 22

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL PARTY PREFERENCES*

Provincial Party Preferences	Federal Party Preferences							
	P.C.	N.D.P.	S.C.	L.	Others	M.D.	Total	(N)
Progressive Conservative	36.4	7.1	0.7	53.6	1.4	0.7	100	(140)
New Democratic Party	0.0	72.5	0.0	25.0	2.5	0.0	100	(40)
Social Credit	27.8	1.0	6.2	57.7	2.1	5.2	100	(97)
Liberal	3.6	0.0	6.0	89.2	0.0	1.2	100	(83)
Others	11.8	5.9	0.0	5.9	70.6	5.9	100	(17)
No answer	7.8	2.0	0.0	35.3	0.0	54.9	100	(51)
TOTAL	20.3	9.8	2.8	54.7	4.0	8.4	100	
(No. of cases)	(87)	(42)	(12)	(234)	(17)	(36)		(428)

Notes: *Row percentages total approximately 100 due to rounding errors.
Abbreviations used: P.C. -- Progressive Conservative; N.D.P. -- New
Democratic Party; S.C. -- Social Credit; M.D. -- missing data (i.e.,
no answer).

for federal and provincial parties.

It seems rather astounding that only 36.3 percent of those who support the Progressive Conservative party support the same party federally. In fact, 53.6 percent of the provincial Conservative supporters indicated that they supported the Liberal party federally! Similarly, 57.5 percent of the students who said they supported the Social Credit party provincially indicated that they supported the Liberal party federally. Moreover, the latter was endorsed by 25 percent of the provincial New Democrats, 5.9 percent of those supporting "other" provincial parties, and 35.3 percent of those indicating no provincial preference.

The remainder of the diagonal "makes sense" in terms of the consistency criterion. Nearly 73 percent of the provincial New Democrats endorse the N.D.P. federally. Over 89 percent of the provincial Liberal supporters indicated support for the federal Liberals as well. Even in the case of supporters of "other" parties and refusals to answer, responses tended to be consistent. By far, the least consistent group were the provincial Social Credit supporters. Only 6.2 percent of them indicated support for the near-defunct federal wing, 27.8 percent supported the federal Conservatives, and the majority supported the federal Liberals.

At the very least, these results suggest that fed-

eral and provincial party preferences do not constitute
identical variables. There seems to be a distinct possi-
bility at this point that each may be related in a some-
what different way to the student power attitude domain.
Whether or not this is the case will be seen in the
next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

PREDICTORS OF STUDENT POWER ATTITUDES

Having isolated and described a number of variables which are presumed to be part of the student power attitude domain, together with a number of university "sentiment" variables, and political background variables, we are now ready to assess the circumstances under which attitudes towards student power occur and/or are maintained. Initially, we had thought of the sentiment and political variables as potentially "rival" sets of explanatory factors, in the sense that attitudes towards student power might be accounted for largely by one or the other of those sets of variables. At the same time, it was acknowledged that interactions among the entire set of independent variables were quite probable. At this point, then, we are in need of a statistical technique which is capable of isolating some of the comparatively independent effects among the explanatory variables, while bringing to light the more complicated interaction effects. In variance terms, the problem was one of maximizing the amount of variance accounted for in each of the student power variables, by "allowing" for the maximum degree of interaction among the independent variables.

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Accordingly, at this stage of the analysis, we have utilized the Automatic Interaction Detection (A.I.D.) technique. Without pretending to cover all the statistical and theoretical subtleties of this technique,[1] it seems appropriate that we present a reasonably succinct description of the process. To this end, several points should be made.

(1) A.I.D. is a multivariate technique which attempts to delineate from a given set of independent variables -- allowing for interaction -- the optimum set of predictors vis-a-vis the dependent variable. The technique has been described as a "step-wise application of a one-way analysis of variance model. Its objective is to partition the sample into a series of non-overlapping sub-groups whose means explain more of the variation in the dependent variable than any other such set of sub-groups."[2]

(2) A.I.D. partitions are accomplished as follows: Starting with the entire sample, a predictor is selected on which scores can be dichotomized in such a way as to create two non-overlapping sub-groups; the predictor selected is the one on which the resultant dichotomization yields <u>the largest proportional reduction in the unexplained sum of squares</u>.(i.e., for the groups in question, the ratio of the between sum of squares to the unexplained sum of squares must be larger than that obtained through any other dichotomization of any other predictor.)

(3) Once this initial "split" is accomplished, an attempt is made to account for more of the unexplained variance. Selecting that group with the largest total sum of squares, the "search" continues for another predictor -- one which will again maximize the proportional reduction in error variance.

(4) This process continues until no further "splits" can be made. The latter occurs when certain arbitrary parameters are exceeded --- e.g., the amount of unexplained variance within a particular group is not large enough to warrant a further split, or the proportional reduction in unexplained variance that might be accomplished by a particular split is inconsequential. In the present study, two other important parameters were operative: no group was split if one or both of the resultant groups included fewer than 20 cases; and variables of rank order or better could be split only if the resultant categories were contiguous.[3]

The A.I.D. technique will be utilized in the present research in an effort to maximize the reduction in unexplained variation on each of the three student power variables -- Organized Radicalism, Student Participation, and Democratic Radicalism. Each will be treated as a dependent variable relative to Cynicism, Contentment, the political interest variables, the sense of political efficacy variables, and federal and provincial party preferences.

It should be noted, however, that for each of the
three A.I.D. analyses, a considerable volume of information
results. Following what appears to be accepted procedure
we shall present only an outline of those results. The out-
line shall consist of (a) the A.I.D. "tree", showing the
various group splits that were made, and including the
characteristics of the sub-groups and their mean scores on
the student power variable in question; and (b), a rank-
ordering and description of the A.I.D. "terminal" groups --
groups on which no further splits were made. The rank-
ordering will be based on mean student power scores, and
should clarify some of the characteristics of respondents
scoring within the various ranges on the student power
scales.

Before proceeding to these "tree analyses", however,
several points must be made pertaining to the transformation
of certain of the variables being utilized. First, it should
be recalled that the Contentment and Cynicism variables are
composite measures derived from the "sentiment" factor matrix
discussed in Chapter Four. Scores on both measures have been
grouped into rough approximations of deciles in order to
reduce to a manageable quantity the number of score ranges
over which A.I.D. partitions would be possible. Score ranges
for both variables will be zero to nine, with higher scores
indicating greater Contentment or greater Cynicism.

Secondly, Organized Radicalism, Student Participation,

and Democratic Radicalism are also composite measures derived from the "student power" factor matrix discussed in Chapter Four. In this respect, Organized Radicalism and Democratic Radicalism have not been subsequently altered. The former has a mean of .004 and a standard deviation of .71, while the latter has a mean of -.004 and a standard deviation of .60. In both cases, negative scores indicate anti-radicalism, while positive scores indicate pro-radicalism.

The Student Participation variable, however, was altered somewhat. The frequency distribution on that variable was rather skewed, and as a corrective measure scores underwent a logarithmic transformation.[4] As a result of the transformation, Student Participation now has a mean of .559, with a standard deviation of .10. Higher scores indicate favorable attitudes towards Student Participation (all scores are positive).

Finally, the reader will be reminded of score ranges on the political background variables. For Interest in University Politics, Interest in National Politics, and Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, the range of scores is zero to nine. Higher scores indicate higher levels of interest and a higher sense of political efficacy. For Sense of Efficacy in University Politics, the range is one to three, with higher scores indicating a higher Sense of Efficacy in University Politics.

A.I.D. results: Organized Radicalism

The first of our "tree analyses" is presented in Figure 21, and shows the partitions made on the independent variables in an attempt to account for a maximum amount of the variation on Organized Radicalism. For ease of presentation, Figure 21 has been subdivided into two parts, each of which includes a major set of the tree "branches".

The initial partition involved the division of the sample into two large sub-groups, one of which included respondents scoring in the lower range on Cynicism (codes 0-3), while the other included respondents scoring in the moderate-to-high Cynicism range. Those in the low Cynicism group were further differentiated by provincial party preference, with provincial Conservatives being separated out from all other party classifications. The Conservatives themselves (Group 9) were then classified according to scores on Sense of Efficacy in National Politics; those who scored in the comparatively extreme range (codes 7-9) were partioned from those scoring in the moderate-to-low categories. The mean score on Organized Radicalism was -.40 for the former group, and -.67 for the latter. Neither group was split further. Thus, respondents who were relatively non-Cynical, supporters of the Progressive Conservative Party provincially, and who felt highly efficacious in national politics constituted the group most opposed to Organized Radicalism.

*Denotes "terminal" group
Y = Mean group score on
    Organized Radicalism

18) Prov.
party NDP,
SC, others
N = 40
Y = .033

19) Prov.
party Lib,
NA
N = 30
Y = -.18

12) Fed
party NDP,
SC, Lib,
others. N=
70, Y=-.06

13) Fed.
party PC,
NA
N = 36
Y = -.37

24) Nat.
efficacy
0-6
N = 30
Y = -.40

25) Nat.
efficacy
7-9
N = 28
Y = -.67

8) Prov.
party NDP,
SC, Lib,
others, NA
N = 106
Y = -.17

9) Prov.
party PC
N = 58
Y = -.53

2) Cyn-
icism 0-3
N = 164
Y = -.29

3) Cyn-
icism 4-9
N = 262
Y = .18

(following
page)

1) TOTAL
SAMPLE
N = 426
Y = 0.004
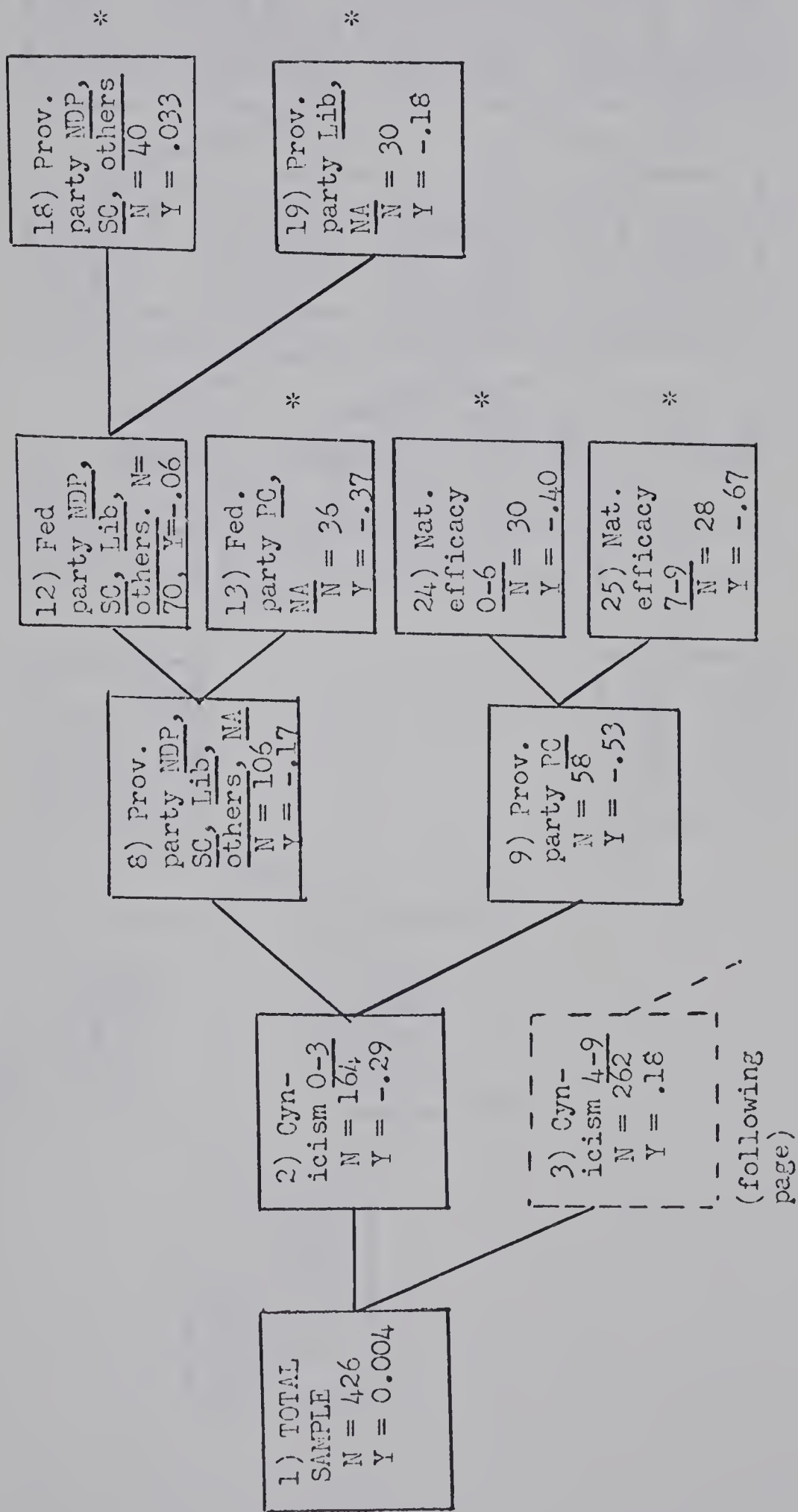
Fig. 21 -- Predictors of Organized Radicalism A.I.D. Analysis

*Denotes "terminal" A.I.D. group
Y = Mean Score on Organized Radicalism
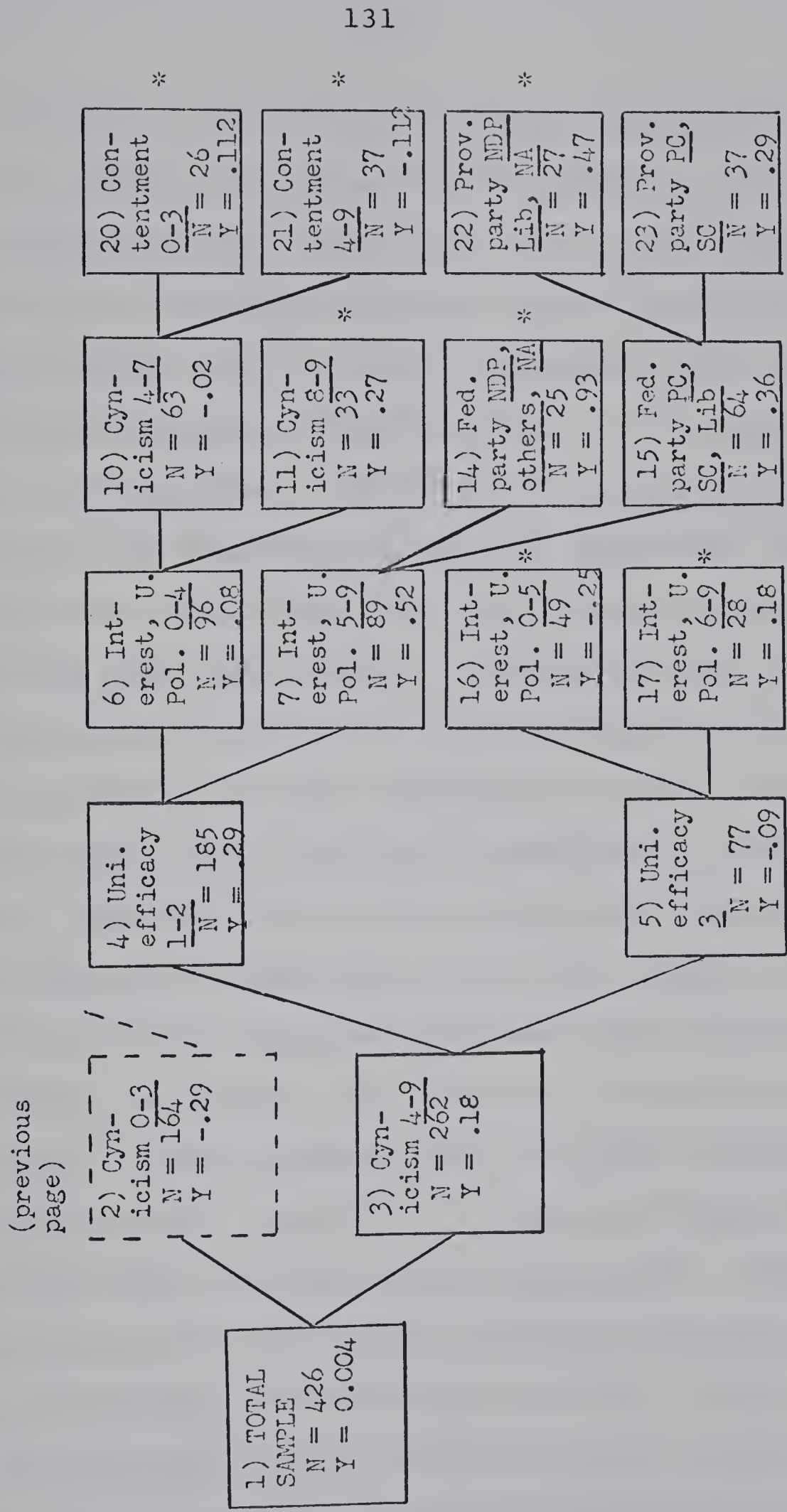
Fig. 21 -- continued.

Turning to the "Group 8" branch, supporters of
provincial parties other than the Conservative party were
further differentiated. This split was on the federal
party preference variable, and once again Conservative
supporters (along with a few "no responses") were parti-
tioned from other party classifications. The latter (Group
12) were differentiated a second time by provincial party
preferences, and this time the Liberal supporters and "no
responses" were partitioned out. No further splits were
made on this upper tree branch. It will be noted that mean
scores on Organized Radicalism in this branch tended to be
negative, particularly when Conservative party preferences
interacted with strong feelings of efficacy in national
politics. When Cynicism was low, Organized Radicalism scores
tended towards the sample mean only after federal and prov-
incial Conservative supporters had been "partitioned" out.

Next, we consider the lower set of branches on the
A.I.D. tree -- those stemming from the large, moderate-to-
high Cynicism group (Group 3). A glance at Figure 21 shows
that matters have now become more complicated. First, the
moderate-to-high Cynicism group was split according to scores
on Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. Those who
scored in the highest range on that variable (Group 5) were
further divided according to their Interest in University
Politics. The resultant groups (16 and 17) are terminal.
Thus, the effects of moderate-to-high Cynicism and a high

sense of efficacy "pulled" in different directions. The
matter was resolved when respondents were classified
according to campus political interest; those who were
comparatively disinterested (Group 16) were significantly
more anti-radical (Mean= -.25) than were their more inter-
ested peers (Group 17; Mean=.18).

We return now to the other branch of the "university
efficacy" split. Group 4 -- those who were moderately-to-
highly Cynical, and who had a low-to-moderate Sense of Eff-
icacy in University Politics -- were categorized according
to Interest in University Politics (Groups 6 and 7). The
division occurred, roughly, at the fiftieth percentile. Mean
differences on Organized Radicalism were highly significant,
with the relatively disinterested group having an average
score of .08, compared with a .52 average for their more
interested counterparts. It appears that the high interest/
low-to-moderate efficacy combination is a strong one, in
terms of predicting scores on Organized Radicalism.

More complicated partitions occur from this point on.
First, Group 6 was further sub-divided according to scores
on Cynicism. In this split, the comparatively extreme Cyn-
icism group was separated from those scoring in the more
moderate range. The resultant groups are 10 and 11. The
latter is a terminal category, with a group mean of .27 on
Organized Radicalism. Group 10 is split further on the
basis of scores on Contentment, but the means within the resul-

tant groups do not differ significantly. It appears, then, that high Cynicism in conjunction with a low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics has a radicalizing effect, even among those who are comparatively disinterested in campus politics.

Secondly, Group 7 was further divided. The variable used in this split was federal party preference, with N.D.P. supporters being separated from Conservative and Liberal supporters (at this point in the breakdown of groups, federal Social Credit supporters, "others", and "no responses", total 6 cases). The N.D.P. group averaged .93 on the Organized Radicalism scale, and constitutes the most pro-radical group (Group 14) in the entire structure. Group 15, federal Conservative and Liberal supporters, was divided further according to provincial party preference, but the means of the resultant groups did not significantly differ. It is worth noting, however, that the split separates provincial Liberal supporters (together with five New Democrats and five "no responses") from Provincial Conservative and Social Credit supporters.

In closing the discussion of the A.I.D. "tree", it should be noted that mean scores on Organized Radicalism scores tended to be higher for those groups in the "lower" branch -- i.e., groups which stem from the moderate-to-high Cynicism sub-sample. Moreover, Sense of Efficacy in University Politics and Interest in University Politics played central roles in terms of radicalizing students. This is in

marked contrast to relationships observed in the "upper"
branches of the tree --- branches which stemmed from the
large, non-Cynical group. There, the only variables which
entered the chain were the party preference variables.

Finally, the reader is referred to Table 23, in
which A.I.D. "terminal" groups are rank-ordered according
to mean scores on the Organized Radicalism measure. The
ranking is from "most radical" to "least radical", and we
have included the number of cases for each group, the mean,
and the standard deviation. Also included are the character-
istics of each group in terms of the variables and variable
ranges which define it. Together, the partitions describ-
ed accounted for a modest -- though not intoxicating --
28.5 percent of the total variance on Organized Radicalism.

What conclusions can be drawn from this? First,
levels of Cynicism (and, one should recall from Chapter
Four, Aimlessness) appear to be a key factor in terms of
the development of favorable or unfavorable attitudes towards
Organized Radicalism. In the A.I.D. tree structure, the
Cynicism split resulted in a ten percent reduction in the
unexplained variance. In terms of the data variables being
studied, comparatively high levels of Cynicism appeared to
be a necessary condition for the development of favorable
attitudes towards Organized Radicalism. Comparatively low
levels of Cynicism were generally associated with anti-

TABLE 23

"TERMINAL" A.I.D. GROUPS RANK ORDERED BY

MEAN SCORES ON ORGANIZED RADICALISM

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
14	25	.93	.53	Moderate-to-high Cynicism (codes 4-9); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); and federal party preference N.D.P., "others", and "not ascertained".
22	27	.47	.60	Moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); federal party preference Conservative, Liberal, or Social Credit; and provincial party preference N.D.P., Liberal, or "no response".
23	37	.29	.54	Moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); federal party preference Conservative, Social Credit, or Liberal; provincial party preference Conservative or Social Credit.
11	33	.27	.75	High Cynicism (codes 8-9); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4).
17	28	.18	.64	Moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); high sense of efficacy in University Politics (3); moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (6-9).
20	26	.11	.61	Moderate Cynicism (4-7); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); and low Contentment (0-3).

TABLE 23 --- Continued

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
18	40	.03	.57	Low Cynicism (0-3); federal party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, Liberal, and "others"; provincial party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, and "others".
21	37	-.11	.62	Moderate Cynicism (4-7); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1-2); low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Contentment (4-9).
19	30	-.18	.60	Low Cynicism (0-3); federal party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, Liberal, and "others"; provincial party preference Liberal and "not ascertained".
16	49	-.25	.60	Moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (3); low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-5).
13	36	-.37	.56	Low Cynicism (0-3); provincial party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, Liberal, "others", and "not ascertained"; federal party preference Conservative and "not ascertained".
24	30	-.39	.61	Low Cynicism (0-3); provincial party preference Conservative; low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-6).
25	28	-.67	.51	Low Cynicism (0-3); provincial party preference Conservative; high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (7-9).

radical sentiment --- especially when low Cynicism interacted
with Conservative provincial party preferences, and with
a high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. When Cynicism
was low, attitudes towards Organized Radicalism became more
moderate only after federal and provincial Conservatives had
been partitioned out.

Sense of Efficacy in University Politics and Interest
in University Politics played significant roles in terms of
differentiating students within the comparatively high
Cynicism group. Thus, higher levels of Cynicism appear to
have interacted with low-to-moderate feelings of efficacy
vis-a-vis faculty and administrators, and with high levels
of Interest in University Politics. The result, it seems,
was the radicalization of students. When the federal party
preference variable entered this sequence, the prediction
of scores on Organized Radicalism was further enhanced.

The two most "powerful" chains in the tree structure
were (a) low Cynicism; Conservative party preference, prov-
incially; and strong feelings of efficacy in national pol-
itics; the mean Organized Radicalism score resulting from
this set of conditions was -.67; (b) moderate--to-high
Cynicism; low Sense of Efficacy in University Politics; high
Interest in University Politics; and federal party preference
N.D.P.; the mean Organized Radicalism score resulting from
this set of conditions was .93.

A.I.D. results: Student Participation

The results of the A.I.D. analysis using the measure
of attitudes towards Student Participation as the dependent
variable are summarized in Figure 22. Once again, the tree
has been subdivided into its two main branches, to facil-
itate its presentation. Terminal groups are described
in detail in Table 24.

The first major partition of the total sample occur-
red with respect to Interest in University Politics. The
sample was decomposed into two groups, one of which inclu-
ded respondents who indicated comparatively low campus pol-
itical interest, while the other included those scoring in
the moderate-to-high range. The least interested group was
further subdivided on the basis of Cynicism scores. The
partition occurred at roughly the fiftieth percentile, cre-
ating two new sub-groups (4 and 5).

The low interest/low Cynicism sub-group was then
partitioned on the basis of provincial party preferences,
with provincial Conservative supporters (and a handful of
"no responses") splitting off from the other party class-
ifications. The groups which resulted from this split
were terminal groups (8 and 9). Group 9 --- which consisted
mostly of provincial Social Credit supporters -- averaged .54
on Student Participation, while Group 8 -- consisting largely
of provincial Conservatives --- averaged .45. These were
significant differences. It appears that comparatively dis-

* Denotes "terminal A.I.D. group.
Y = Mean score on Student Participation.
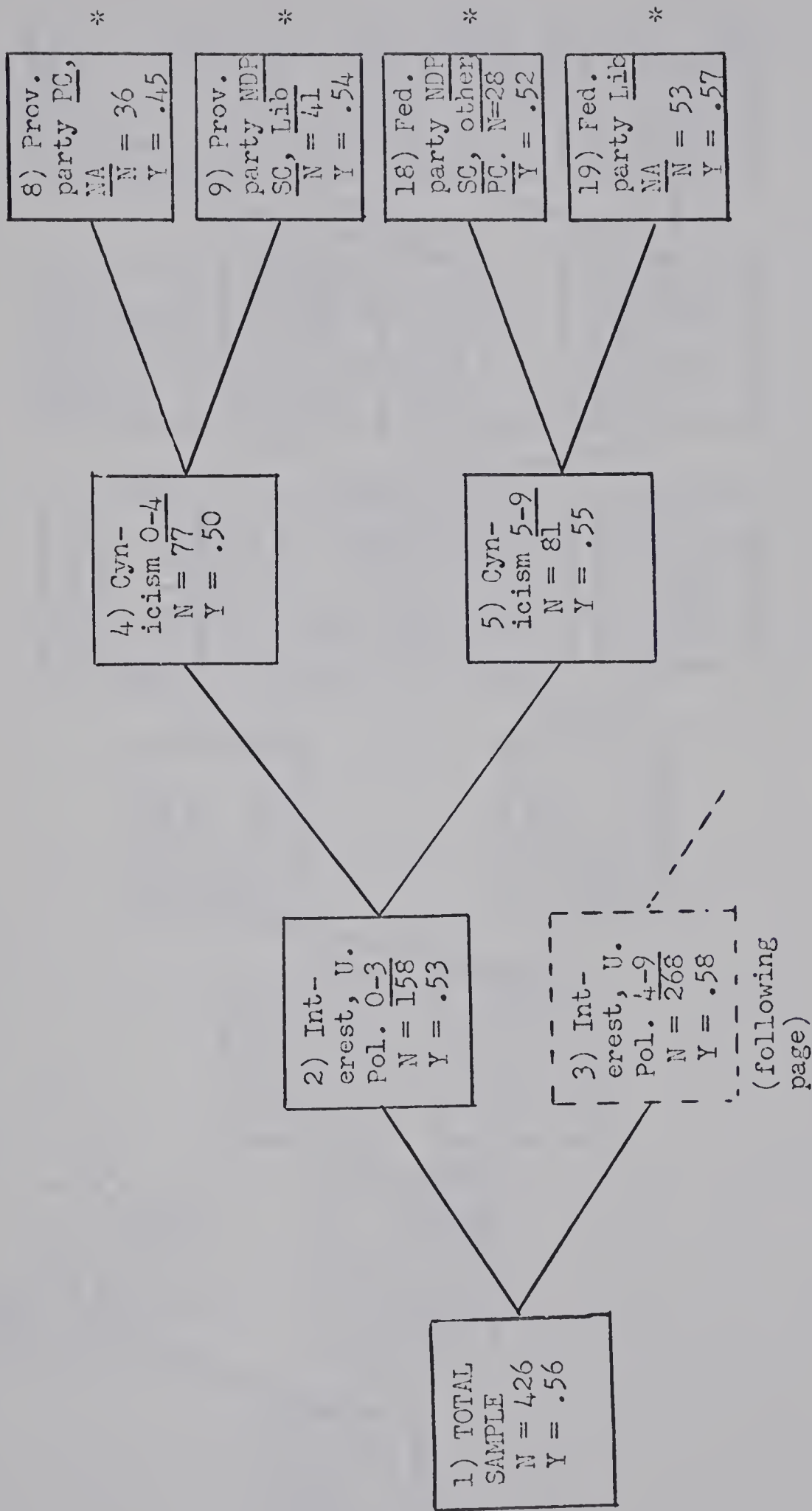
Fig. 22 -- Predictors of Student Participation:
A. I. D. Analysis

* Denotes "terminal" group.
Y = Mean score on Student Participation

(previous page)

1) TOTAL SAMPLE
N = 426
Y = .56

2) Interest, U. Pol. 0-3
N = 158
Y = .53

3) Interest, U. Pol. 4-9
N = 268
Y = .58

6) Cynicism 0 *
N = 25
Y = .53

7) Cynicism 1-9
N = 243
Y = .58

10) Nat. efficacy 0-7
N = 188
Y = .57

11) Nat. efficacy 8-9
N = 55
Y = .60

12) Uni. efficacy 1
N = 53
Y = .60

13) Uni. efficacy 2-3
N = 135
Y = .56

24) Prov. party NDP, SC, Lib, NA *
N = 27
Y = .60

25) Prov. party PC, others *
N = 28
Y = .62

22) Prov. party PC, NDP, NA *
N = 28
Y = .58

23) Prov. party Lib, SC, others *
N = 25
Y = .62

14) Cynicism 1-4
N = 62
Y = .55

15) Cynicism 5-9
N = 73
Y = .58

16) Nat. efficacy 0-5 *
N = 27
Y = .57

17) Nat. efficacy 6-7 *
N = 35
Y = .53

20) Prov. party Lib, SC, others *
N = 29
Y = .56

21) Prov. party PC, NDP, NA *
N = 44
Y = .59

Fig. 22. -- continued.

interested, provincial Social Credit supporters are more positively-oriented towards broader student participation than are their Conservative counterparts.

Group 5 -- consisting of those who were comparatively disinterested in campus politics, but moderately-to-highly Cynical -- was further divided into two sub-groups, on the basis of federal party preference. In this case, however, Liberals and non-respondents were differentiated from the rest of the party categorizations (the largest category being Progressive Conservatives). The resultant groups were 18 and 19, with Liberals and non-identifiers being significantly more willing to endorse broader Student Participation.

The lower half of this tree introduces rather formidable complications. We are dealing, it should be remembered, with the moderately-to-highly interested segment of the sample (Group 3). That group was further partitioned in a somewhat puzzling fashion: the extreme tail of the distribution (i.e., those scoring in the lowest category) was lopped off. This became a terminal group, with a comparatively low mean score on Student Participation (.53).

The other group resulting from the Cynicism split (Group 7) was subdivided again on the basis of scores on Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. Those who scored highest on "national efficacy" (codes 8 and 9) tended to have more favorable attitudes towards Student Participation

TABLE 24

"TERMINAL" A.I.D. GROUPS RANK ORDERED BY

MEAN SCORED ON STUDENT PARTICIPATION

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
25	28	.62	.05	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (4-9); all Cynicism categories except the lowest extreme (that is, 0); high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (8-9); provincial party preference Conservative and "others".
23	25	.62	.03	Interest in University Politics moderate-to-high (4-9); all Cynicism categories except the lowest extreme (that is, 0); low-to-moderately high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-7); low Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (1); provincial party preference Social Credit, Liberal, and "others".
24	27	.60	.04	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (4-9); all Cynicism categories except the lowest extreme (that is, 0); high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (8-9); provincial party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, Liberal and "not ascertained".
21	44	.59	.05	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (4-9); moderate-to-high Cynicism (5-9); low-to-moderately high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-7); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (2-3); provincial party preference Conservative, N.D.P., and "not ascertained".

TABLE 24 -- <u>Continued</u>

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
22	28	.58	.08	Interest in University Politics moderate-to-high (4-9); all Cynicism categories except the lowest extreme (that is, 0); low-to-moderately high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-7); low Sense of Efficacy University Politics (1); provincial party preference Conservative, N.D.P., and "not ascertained".
16	27	.57	.08	Interest in University Politics moderate-to-high (4-9); low-to-moderate Cynicism (1-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (2-3); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-5).
19	53	.57	.06	Low Interest in University Politics (0-3); moderate-to-high Cynicism (5-9); federal party preference Liberal, and "not ascertained".
20	29	.56	.08	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (4-9); moderate-to-high Cynicism (5-9); low-to moderately high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-7); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (2-3); provincial party preference Social Credit, Liberal, and "others".
9	41	.55	.11	Low Interest in University Politics (0-3); low-to-moderate Cynicism (0-4); provincial party preference N.D.P., Social Credit and Liberal.

TABLE 24 -- Continued

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
6	25	.53	.11	Interest in University Politics moderate-to-high (4-9); Cynicism extremely low (0).
17	35	.53	.12	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (4-9); low-to-moderate Cynicism (1-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics (2-3); moderately high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (6-7).
18	28	.52	.11	Low Interest in University Politics (0-3); moderate-to-high Cynicism (5-9); federal party preference N.D.P., Social Credit, Conservative, and "others".
8	36	.45	.16	Low Interest in University Politics (0-3); low-to-moderate Cynicism (0-4); provincial party preference Conservative, and "not ascertained".

than did their peers in the low-to-moderate "national efficacy" range. The "high efficacy" group was further classified according to provincial party preferences (Groups 24 and 25), and once again Conservatives and "others" were separated from the remaining parties. Oddly enough, however, this time the Conservative had a higher mean score on Student Participation than did the non-Conservative group -- but the means did not significantly differ.

We return now to a consideration of those individuals who scored in the low-to-moderate range on Sense of Efficacy

in National Politics (Group 10). This group was further
divided according to scores on Sense of Efficacy in Univer-
sity Politics. Those who felt moderately-to-highly effica-
cious in university politics were separated from those who
felt least efficacious (Groups 12 and 13). The least
efficacious group was again split on the basis of provincial
party preferences (Groups 22 and 23), but the means of the
resulting groups did not differ significantly. (Group 22,
it should be noted, included N.D.P. and Conservative support-
ers -- along with three "no responses" -- while Group 23
consisted largely of Social Credit and Liberal supporters).

Meanwhile, those who felt moderately-to-highly effica-
cious in university politics (Group 13) were split further.
First, the comparatively low Cynicism group was partitioned
from the moderate-to-high Cynicism group (Groups 14 and 15).
The mean Student Participation score for the least Cynical
group was .55, while the mean score for the higher Cynicism
group was .58. Though each of these two groups was split
still further, the results are rather inconclusive. Group
14 was sub-divided into Groups 16 and 17 on the basis of
scores on Sense of Efficacy in National Politics; for the
latter two groups, however, mean Student Participation scores
did not differ significantly. Similarly, Group 15 was par-
titioned into Groups 20 and 21 on the basis of provincial
party preference; once again, however, the means did not
differ significantly.

To say the very least, these are not particularly clear results. The most notable feature with regard to this particular tree structure seems to be the rather minor differences observed on some of the latter "splits" -- means are not significantly different, for example, between Groups 24 and 25; Groups 22 and 23; Groups 20 and 21; and between Groups 16 and 17. The proportion of variance accounted for by those splits tended to be very low. In fact, the proportion of total variance accounted for in this analysis was only 15.8 percent -- compared with 28.5 percent in the Organized Radicalism analysis.

The conclusions which can be drawn from this analysis are rather limited. First, the variables utilized were better predictors of attitudes towards Organized Radicalism, than of attitudes towards Student Participation. The key predictor of attitudes towards Student Participation was Interest in University Politics. The initial division on that variable accounted for five percent of the total variance on Student Participation.

The interaction of low interest and low Cynicism tended to depress group means, particularly in the case of those whose provincial party preference was Progressive Conservative. Low interest in conjunction with high Cynicism tended to result in higher scores on Student Participation, particularly in the case of federal Liberal supporters.

When Interest in University Politics was comparatively moderate or high, students indicated greater concern for broader participation. This was especially the case if they

also felt highly efficacious in national politics. For those who indicated only low-to-moderate levels of "national efficacy", however, Sense of Efficacy in University politics played a differentiating role: those who felt least efficacious at the university level tended to score higher on Student Participation, compared with those who felt moderately-to-highly efficacious in university.

To the extent that students were differentiated in this analysis, they seem to have been differentiated largely by their levels of Interest in University Politics, the degree to which they were Cynical, and the degree to which they felt efficacious in national and university-level politics. Within the comparatively disinterested group, provincial party preference also played an appreciable role.

A.I.D. results: Democratic Radicalism

Finally, we turn to a consideration of the predictors of Democratic Radicalism. Once again, the political background and "sentiment" variables were utilized in A.I.D. partitions in an effort to maximize mean group scores on the dependent variable. The results are summarized in the A.I.D. tree presented in Figure 23. The upper and lower "main branches" of the tree are presented on separate pages, while characteristics of terminal groups are described in Table 25.

The first major split in the variance-reduction

* Denotes "terminal" group.

Y = Mean score on Democratic Radicalism.
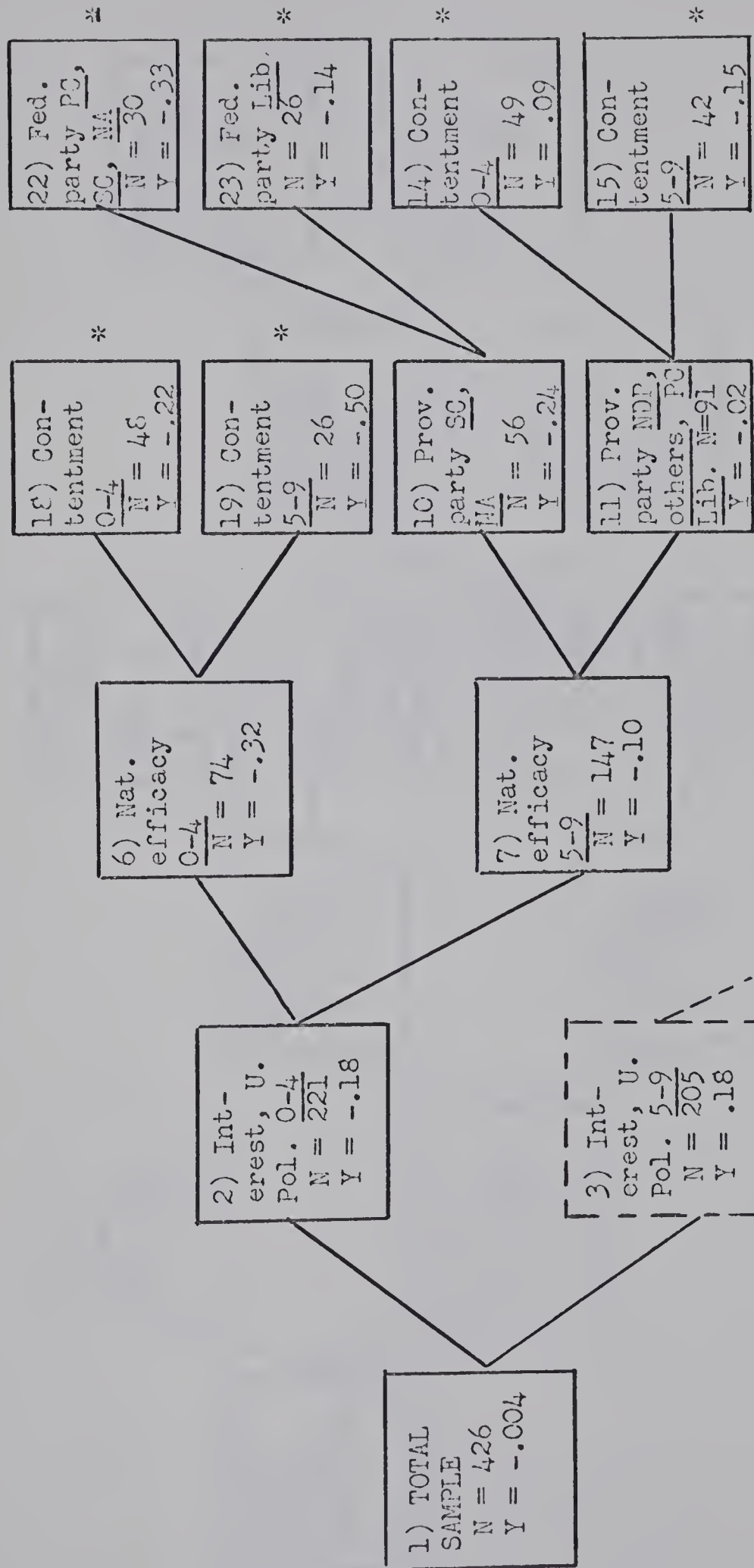
Fig. 23. -- Predictors of Democratic Radicalism:
A. I. D. analysis.

* Denotes "terminal" group.
Y = Mean score on Democratic Radicalism.

20) Cyn-
icism 4-6
N = 33
Y = .22
*

21) Cyn-
icism 7-9
N = 21
Y = .01
*

12) Nat.
efficacy
0-6
N = 70
Y = .11

13) Nat.
efficacy
7-9
N = 30
Y = .40
*

16) Nat.
efficacy
0-6
N = 37
Y = -.13
*

17) Nat.
efficacy
7-9
N = 38
Y = .06
*

8) Prov.
party Lib
PC, SC, NA
N = 100
Y = .20

9) Prov.
party NDP,
others
N = 30
Y = .66
*

4) Cyn-
icism 0-3
N = 75
Y = -.03

5) Cyn-
icism 4-9
N = 130
Y = .30

2) Int-
erest, U.
Pol. 0-4
N = 221
Y = -.18

3) Int-
erest, U.
Pol. 5-9
N = 205
Y = .18

1) TOTAL
SAMPLE
N = 426
Y = -.004
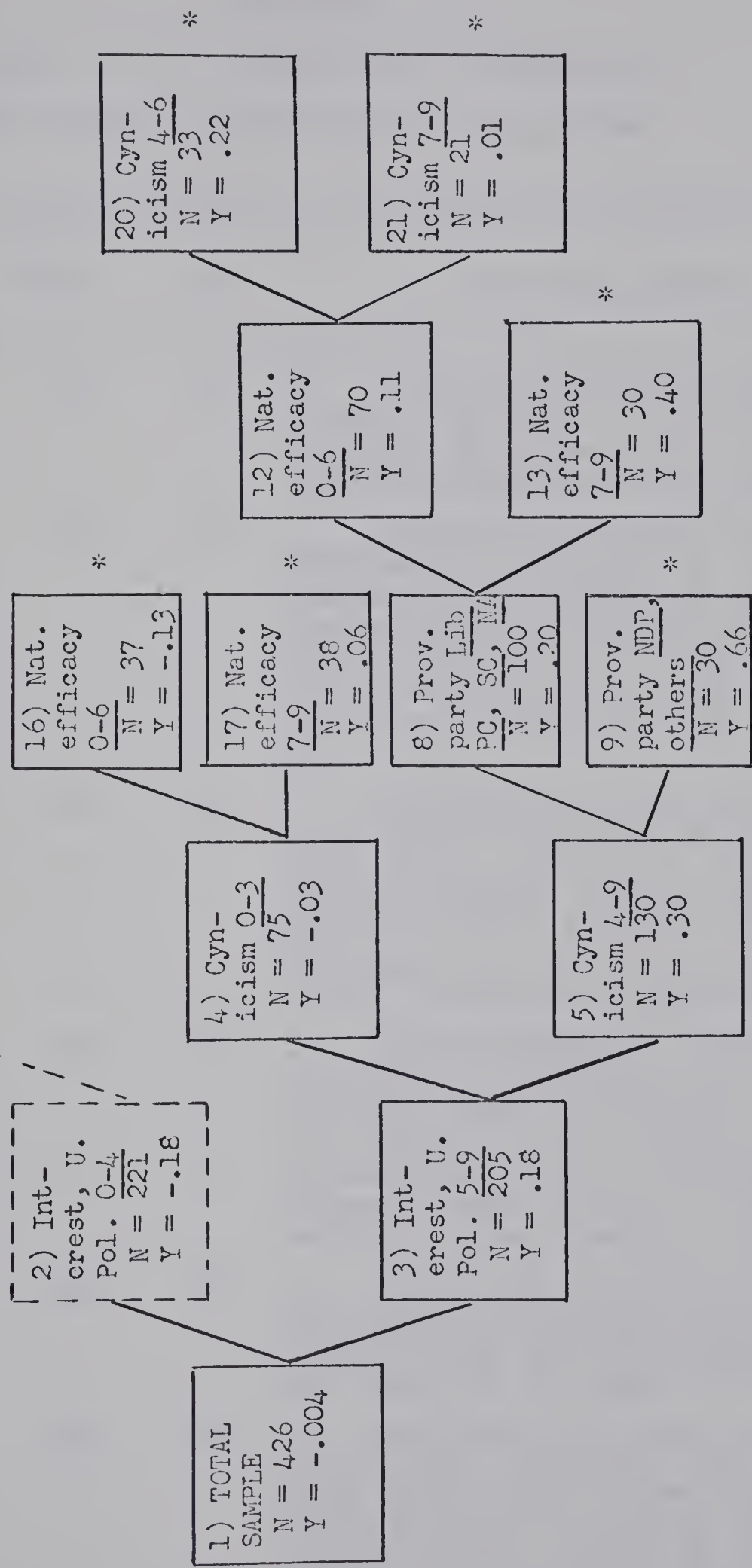
Fig. 23 -- continued.

TABLE 25

"TERMINAL" A.I.D. GROUPS RANK ORDERED BY

MEAN SCORES ON DEMOCRATIC RADICALISM

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
9	30	.66	.47	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); provincial party preference N.D.P. and "others".
13	30	.40	.51	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); moderate-to-high Cynicism (4-9); provincial party preference Conservative, Social Credit, Liberal, and "not ascertained"; high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (7-9).
20	33	.22	.50	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); provincial party preference Conservative, Social Credit, Liberal, and "not ascertained"; Sense of Efficacy in National Politics low-to-moderate (0-6); moderate Cynicism (4-6).
14	49	.09	.47	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (5-9); provincial party preference, N.D.P., Conservative, Liberal, and "others"; low-to-moderate Contentment (0-4).
17	38	.06	.59	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); low Cynicism (0-3); high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (7-9).
21	21	.02	.58	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); provincial party preference Conservative, Social Credit, Liberal, and "not ascertained"; Sense of Efficacy in National Politics low-to-moderate (0-6); high Cynicism (7-9).

TABLE 25 -- <u>Continued</u>

Group	N	Mean	S.D.	Characteristics
16	37	-.13	.55	Moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics (5-9); low Cynicism (0-3); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-6).
23	26	-.14	.48	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (5-9); provincial party preference Social Credit and "not ascertained"; federal party preference Liberal.
15	42	-.15	.59	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (5-9); provincial party preference Conservative, N.D.P., Liberal, and "others"; moderate-to-high Contentment (5-9).
18	48	-.22	.54	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-4); low-to-moderate Contentment (0-4).
22	30	-.33	.48	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (5-9); provincial party preference Social Credit and "not ascertained"; federal party preference Conservative, Social Credit, and "not ascertained".
19	26	-.50	.50	Low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (0-4); low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics (0-4); moderate-to-high Contentment (5-9).

procedure involved a division of the entire sample into
two groups, one of which consisted of respondents who
scored in the comparatively lower range on Interest in
University Politics, while the other consisted of respond-
ents indicating comparatively high interest in University
Politics. These were Groups 2 and 3 respectively. As has
been our custom, initially we shall consider those sub-groups
which evolved from Group 2 (low campus political interest).

The latter set of respondents were further partitioned
on the basis of scores on Sense of Efficacy in National
Politics. Those indicating a comparatively low sense of
efficacy constituted Group 6, with a mean score of -.32 on
Democratic Radicalism. This group was split further, accord-
ing to scores on Contentment (Groups 18 and 19), the least
satisfied segment obtaining a mean score of -.22 on Dem-
ocratic Radicalism, while the most satisfied obtained an
average score of -.50. These were terminal groups. Thus,
low interest in campus politics, in conjunction with a low
Sense of Efficacy in National Politics and a comparatively
high degree of personal satisfaction, tends to result in the
negation of Democratic Radicalism. This negation is some-
what modified when personal satisfaction is relatively low.

Those indicating comparatively low Interest in Univer-
sity Politics, and a high Sense of Efficacy in National
Politics tended to be rather moderate in their rejection of
Democratic Radicalism (Group 7, mean= -.10). This group

was further sub-divided, on the basis of provincial party
preference. The resultant groups were Group 10, including
provincial Social Credit supporters and non-respondents
(mean Democratic Radicalism score = -.24), and Group 11,
largely consisting of Conservative and Liberal supporters
(mean = -.02). The latter group included only seven N.D.P.
supporters.

Groups 10 and 11 were split further. Group 10 was
partitioned on the basis of *federal* party preference, but
the resulting groups (22 and 23) did not differ significantly
in terms of mean scores on Democratic Radicalism. Group 11
on the other hand, was partitioned on the basis of scores
on Contentment, and those who were comparatively unhappy with
the university experience obtained a mean score of .09 on
Democratic Radicalism. Those who indicated comparatively
high levels of personal satisfaction obtained a mean score
of -.15.

Before leaving this upper branch, it should be noted
that most of the group means were negative. Low Interest in
University Politics tended to result in a rejection of Dem-
ocratic Radicalism, and the tendency was particularly accel-
erated when Sense of Efficacy in National Politics was low,
and when general Contentment was high. The interaction of
those three variables resulted in the highest <u>negative</u> group
mean in the entire tree structure. The effects of low
Interest in University Politics tended to be counteracted by

the effects of comparatively high feelings of efficacy in
national political affairs, and by provincial Liberal and
Conservative party preferences. When the latter occurred
in conjunction with personal dissatisfaction, the result
was a slight tendency in favor of Democratic Radicalism.

Next, we turn to the lower half of the A.I.D. tree
structure. This consists of groups evolving from that
section of the sample characterized by comparatively high
Interest in University Politics (i.e., Group 3). The latter
group had a mean score of .18 on Democratic Radicalism,
compared with a mean of -.18 for the comparatively disin-
terested group.

Group 3 was further divided on the basis of Cynicism
scores. Those who scored in the lower Cynicism range were
partitioned from those scoring in the moderate-to-high
Cynicism range (Groups 4 and 5). The mean scores on Dem-
ocratic Radicalism were -.03, for the low Cynicism group,
and .30 for the moderate-to-high Cynicism group. The low
Cynicism group was split again, according to scores on Sense
of Efficacy in National Politics. Those who felt highly
efficacious (codes 7-9) obtained a mean score of .06 on
Democratic Radicalism, while those who indicated a low-to-
moderate Sense of Efficacy in National Politics tended to
be more opposed to Democratic Radicalism (the mean was -.13).
However, these differences were not statistically significant.

Meanwhile, the moderate-to-high Cynicism group was

further differentiated by provincial party preference
(Groups 8 and 9). N.D.P. supporters, and supporters of
"other" political parties constituted a terminal group,
with the highest positive mean score on Democratic Radic-
alism (.66). Provincial Progressive Conservatives, Liberals,
Social Credit supporters and non-identifiers were split
into sub-groups on the basis of scores on Sense of Efficacy
in National Politics (Groups 12 and 13). Those with a
comparatively high sense of efficacy constituted a terminal
group with a relatively high mean of .40 on Democratic Rad-
icalism. Those with a low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy
in National Politics were differentiated on the basis of
Cynicism scores, and constituted terminal Groups 20 and 21.
For the latter groups, however, mean scores on Democratic
Radicalism did not differ significantly.

It appears that Interest in University Politics is a key
factor in explaining variations on Democratic Radicalism.
Low interest, together with a low sense of political effi-
cacy and comparatively high Contentment, generally resulted
in negative attitudes towards Democratic Radicalism. How-
ever, when low interest occurred in conjunction with a high
sense of political efficacy (nationally) Democratic Radical-
ism scores were more moderate. This "moderation" trend was

further evidenced when provincial New Democrats, Conserva-
tives, Liberals, and supporters of "other" parties were
separated from non-identifiers.

High levels of Interest in University Politics, in
conjunction with high Cynicism, was an effective combination
in terms of maximizing mean scores on Democratic Radicalism.
This was particularly so in the case of provincial New Dem-
ocrats and supporters of "other" political parties. For
all remaining provincial party classifications, high interest
in conjunction with high Cynicism and a high Sense of Efficacy
in National Politics resulted in comparatively high scores on
Democratic Radicalism. When Cynicism was low, scores on
Democratic Radicalism tended to be comparatively low.

The key variables in this sequence seem to have been
Interest in University Politics, Cynicism, and provincial
party preference. Sense of Efficacy in National Politics
plays a comparatively small role in terms of the proportion
of total variance explained. All told, the partitions report-
ed in Figure 23 accounted for 22.4 percent of the total var-
iance on Democratic Radicalism.

Chapter VI

[1]The A.I.D. technique is described in detail in
John A. Sonquist and James N. Morgan, The Detection of
Interaction Effects (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Survey Research
Center, 1964). See also, John A. Sonquist, Multivariate
Model Building: The Validation of a Search Strategy (Ann
Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1970).

[2]Sonquist, Multivariate Model Building, p. 20.

[3]The Automatic Interaction Detection technique
can result in rather complex interpretative problems,
when rank-order variables are not split into contiguous
categories. Thus, codes zero to nine might be "split" as
follows: codes one, two, four, five, and eight; and codes
three, six, seven, and nine.

[4]See M.S. Bartlett, "The Use of Transformations",
in Joseph A. Steger, ed., Readings in Statistics for the
Behavioral Scientist (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
1971), pp. 169-178.

CHAPTER VII

STUDENT POWER AND AVOWED MILITANCY:
SOME OBSERVATIONS

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to "account" for various levels of concern for Organized Radicalism, Student Participation, and Democratic Radicalism. The outcome of this enterprise was a rather elaborate set of "typologies". These were developed empirically and were based on the attributes of various groups of students whose characteristic scores on each of the student power scales fell within certain ranges on each scoring continuum. These "characteristic scores" --- i.e., group means --- were presented in rank-order fashion, and the attributes of each group were described.

At this point, it is appropriate that we attempt to assess the _potential_ behavioral implications of these findings -- recalling, of course, that our index of Avowed Militancy pertained to hypothetical reactions to a hypothetical situation. The approach to this problem will be comparatively simple. Certain sets of respondents can be characterized as "very interested" in student power, "not very interested", and so on. Each of these groups has been described in terms of various political and "sentiment" factors which appear to

account partially for mean scores on each of the student
power scales. Given this information, one wonders if a
rank-ordering of groups according to mean scores on Avowed
Militancy would be congruent with the rank ordering accord-
ing to mean scores on each of the student power variables.
In other words, given that a group is characteristically
"pro-radical", and given the various attributes associated
with that position, can we expect that the same group will
endorse comparatively higher levels of militancy?

The first of these comparisons is presented in Table
26. Each of the "terminal groups" which resulted from the
attempt to account for levels of Organized Radicalism is
included. Groups are presented in rank-order fashion, with
the ranking based on the average group score on the Organ-
ized Radicalism scale. The next column includes the aver-
age group score on the index of Avowed Militancy.

Organized Radicalism
and Avowed Militancy

The first point which should be noted with regard
to Table 26 is that the ranking patterns tend to be rather
similar. This is particularly so in the case of groups
characterized by comparatively "extreme" pro-radicalism, and
groups characterized by comparatively "extreme" anti-radical-
ism. On the other hand, groups which tended to be rather
middle-of-the-road in terms of Organized Radicalism also
tended to be relatively moderate in terms of Avowed Militancy.

TABLE 26

ORGANIZED RADICALISM TYPOLOGY[+] AND MEAN SCORES

ON AVOWED MILITANCY

Group number	Number of cases	Mean score on Organized Radicalism	Mean score on Avowed Militancy
14	25	.93	4.2
22	27	.47	4.0
23	37	.29	3.3
11	33	.27	4.1
17	28	.18	3.6
20	26	.11	3.2
18	40	.03	3.0
21	37	-.11	3.3
19	30	-.18	3.2
16	49	-.25	3.1
13	36	-.37	2.8
24	30	-.39	3.0
25	28	-.67	3.0
TOTAL SAMPLE	426	.004	3.2

[+]For detailed descriptions of each group, see Table 23, Chapter VI.

As one would expect, the most radical groups were also the most "militant" groups. Groups 14 and 22 -- whose common characteristics included higher Cynicism, a rather low Sense of Efficacy in University Politics, and relatively high Interest in University Politics -- scored well above the sample average on both Organized Radicalism, and Avowed Militancy. Group 23 shared these characteristics, but differed from the previous two in an important respect: respondents in Groups 14 and 22 tended to be N.D.P. supporters either federally or provincially, while respondents in Group 23 supported the N.D.P. at neither level of government. The latter group had a comparatively low average score on Avowed Militancy (3.3, compared with a sample average of 3.2).

Group 11 also consisted of respondents who scored in the higher ranges on Avowed Militancy. Curiously, this group consisted of individuals who were relatively disinterested in campus politics. However, they were very Cynical, and indicated a low-to-moderate Sense of Efficacy in University Politics. Moreover, their mean score on Avowed Militancy was higher than what one would expect in the light of the group average on Organized Radicalism.

Group 17 presents an interesting example of the comparative effects of the "university interest" and "university efficacy" variables. Respondents in this group tended to be Cynical, and tended to be comparatively interested in campus politics. Sense of Efficacy in University Politics

was high, however, and appears to have had the effect of "depressing" scores on Organized Radicalism, and scores on Avowed Militancy.

Groups 20 and 21, and Groups 18 and 19 tended to be rather "average" in terms of attitudes towards Organized Radicalism, and in terms of willingness to engage in various modes of militant activity. All respondents in those groups were comparatively non-Cynical, or only moderately Cynical. Other differentiating factors were rather complex, but the important factors exerting momentum away from the sample mean appear to have been the party preference variables, and Sense of Efficacy in University Politics.

Individuals in Group 16 were comparatively anti-radical, and were moderate in terms of their willingness to engage in militant campus political action. These were students who were moderately-to-highly Cynical, with a high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics, and low-to-moderate Interest in University Politics (cf. Group 17 above).

Finally, Groups 13, 24 and 25 largely consisted of individuals who were unwilling to endorse any militant option that went beyond participation in a non-violent demonstration. All three groups were characterized by low levels of Cynicism. In the case of Groups 24 and 25, however, low Cynicism occurred in conjunction with Conservative party preferences in provincial politics. Group 24 also included students with a comparatively strong Sense of Efficacy in National Politics,

while group 25 included students who felt less efficacious. It is interesting to note that even though high "national" efficacy" appeared to increase anti-radical sentiment, it made no difference whatsoever in terms of average militancy scores.

The material presented in Table 26 suggests a rough correspondence between average scores on Organized Radicalism, and average scores on Avowed Militancy. This congruence is most evident in the case of groups with comparatively extreme mean scores on either of the dependent variables. One would suggest, however, that the groups generally have not been dramatically differentiated in terms of Avowed Militancy scores. Most notably, when one leaves the comparatively highly pro-radical domain, militancy scores tend to be almost uniformly average (relative to the sample mean). This may be due to the relative insensitivity of the Avowed Militancy scale in terms of picking up differences other than the most extreme. It is also probable that -- except in their most extreme manifestation -- the combination of factors which account for variations on Organized Radicalism do not necessarily explain variations with regard to Avowed Militancy.

Student Participation
and Avowed Militancy

We turn next to a consideration of the potential

behavioral implications of attitudes towards Student Par-
ticipation, considered in conjunction with the presumed
explanatory factors discussed in Chapter VI. Once again,
A.I.D. "terminal" groups have been rank-ordered according
to mean scores on Student Participation, and these are
compared with group averages on Avowed Militancy (see Table
27).

As was the case with Organized Radicalism, the rank-
ordering of mean scores on Student Participation tends to
be more or less congruent with the rank-ordering of mean
scores on Avowed Militancy. Again, this is particularly
evident among comparatively "extreme" Groups. Thus, Groups
21 to 25 tended to be comparatively more concerned about
broader student participation, and comparatively more willing
to engage in the activities subsumed within the moderate
range of Avowed Militancy. Respondents in those five groups
shared a moderate-to-high Interest in University Politics.

Those in Groups 24 and 25 felt highly efficacious in
national politics, but differed in terms of provincial party
preference. That difference was not significant in terms
of attitudes towards Student Participation, and appears to
have contributed little to variations on Avowed Militancy.

Groups 22 and 23 consisted of individuals who were
relatively Interested in University Politics, but who felt
inefficacious in both national and university-level politics.
These groups were differentiated further on the basis of

TABLE 27

STUDENT PARTICIPATION TYPOLOGY[+] AND MEAN SCORES

ON AVOWED MILITANCY

Group number	Number of cases	Mean score on Student Participation	Mean score on Avowed Militancy
25	28	.62	3.6
23	28	.62	3.5
24	27	.60	3.7
21	44	.59	3.8
22	28	.58	3.5
16	27	.57	2.7
19	53	.57	3.0
20	29	.56	3.4
9	41	.55	2.9
6	25	.53	2.9
17	35	.53	3.2
18	28	.52	2.9
8	36	.45	2.5
TOTAL SAMPLE	426	.55	3.2

[+]For detailed descriptions of each group, see Table 24, Chapter VI.

provincial party preference, but the division did not
substantially alter mean scores on Student Participation,
and did not alter mean scores on Avowed Militancy.

Group 21 included the most "militant" set of
respondents in the Student Participation typology and
they proved to be a rather strange collection. Among their
more notable characteristics were: high Cynicism, a comp-
aratively high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics,
a comparatively low Sense of Efficacy in National Politics,
and Conservative and N.D.P. provincial party preferences!
This group scored an average of 3.8 on the militancy scale.
(Those who shared all those characteristics but party pref-
erence -- i.e., Social Credit and Liberal supporters --
averaged 3.4 on the militancy scale. This set of respondents
constituted Group 20.) High Cynicism and high Interest in
University Politics seem to have outweighed the effects of
an otherwise anti-radical influence -- Conservative party
identification.

At the other comparative extreme, in terms of mean
scores on the Student Participation scale, were Groups 6
and 8, and Groups 17 and 18. With the exception of Group
17, the comparable Avowed Militancy averages were ordered
"properly". Group 6 can be described very economically:
it consisted of students who were comparatively interested
in university politics, but who were extremely non-cynical.
Respondents in Group 8 were comparatively disinterested in

university politics, scored in the relatively low range on Cynicism, and were either Conservatives or non-identifiers in provincial politics. Students with those characteristics were least interested in broader student participation, and were least willing to engage in the more militant modes of campus political behavior.

Group 18 was made up of students who were relatively disinterested in campus politics, moderately-to-highly Cynical, and --- for the most part -- supporters of the Progressive Conservative party federally. (Group 18 included 28 respondents -- 15 Conservatives, and a smattering of Social Credit, N.D.P. and "other" party supporters).

Finally, we draw the reader's attention to an interesting discrepancy in the ranking order. Respondents in Group 17 tended to be less interested in Student Participation than did their counterparts in Group 16 (the means are .53 and .57, respectively). That ordering was appreciably reversed, however, in the case of mean scores on Avowed Militancy. Group 17 seemed to be more "militant" than did Group 16 (the means are 3.2 and 2.7, respectively). Respondents in Group 16 differed from respondents in Group 17 only in terms of Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. The former felt less efficacious, while the latter felt more efficacious.

Overall, average Militancy scores tended to be somewhat lower when the Student Participation classifications were used, than was the case when the Organized Radicalism

categorizations were used. The latter, for example, included several groups with average Militancy scores in excess of 3.8, while the former included no such sets of respondents. Attitudes towards Student Participation -- considered in conjunction with political and "sentiment" explanatory factors -- appear to moderately differentiate students in terms of their willingness to engage in various modes of campus political behavior. The Student Participation "model" tended to more useful in isolating groups with comparatively low mean scores on Avowed Militancy, while the Organized Radicalism "model" was more satisfactory in terms of isolating groups with comparatively high mean scores on Avowed Militancy.

Democratic Radicalism and Avowed Militancy

Finally, we shall examine Avowed Militancy "averages" among those groups which were the outcome of attempts to account for attitudes towards Democratic Radicalism. Data pertaining to these groups are summarized in Table 28. Once again, groups are ranked according to mean scores on Democratic Radicalism, and comparable averages on Avowed Militancy are presented.

Groups 9 and 13 in this set scored comparatively high on Democratic Radicalism, and comparatively high on Avowed Militancy. Both groups were characterized by relatively high interest in university politics, and relatively high

TABLE 28

DEMOCRATIC RADICALISM TYPOLOGY[+] AND MEAN SCORES

ON AVOWED MILITANCY

Group number	Number of cases	Mean score on Organized Radicalism	Mean score on Avowed Militancy
9	30	.66	3.9
13	30	.40	3.6
20	33	.22	3.1
14	49	.09	3.1
17	38	.06	3.1
21	21	.02	3.5
16	37	-.13	3.3
23	26	-.14	2.9
15	42	-.15	2.9
18	48	-.22	3.1
22	30	-.33	2.7
19	26	-.50	2.6
TOTAL SAMPLE	426	-.004	3.2

[+]For detailed descriptions of each group, see Table 25, Chapter VI.

levels of cynicism. They differ in that Group 9 includes only provincial New Democrats and supporters of "other" political parties. Group 13 was drawn from the remaining party classifications, but included only those respondents who felt highly efficacious in national politics.

Although Groups 20,14, and 17 are ranked somewhat differently in terms of mean scores on Democratic Radicalism, they have identical mean scores on Avowed Militancy. Respondents in Groups 17 and 20 were comparatively highly interested in campus politics, but had little else in common. Group 17 consisted of individuals who were relatively non-Cynical, and who felt highly efficacious in national politics. On the other hand, individuals in Group 20 were moderately Cynical, did not feel highly efficacious in national politics, and were drawn from provincial parties other than the N.D.P. Group 14 differed still further from the other two. Here were individuals who were comparatively disinterested in campus politics, felt moderately-to-highly efficacious (nationally), identified with parties other than Social Credit provincially, and who were comparatively discontented. Thus, three sets of rather complex characteristics result in somewhat different average scores on Democratic Radicalism, and identical average scores on Avowed Militancy.

Groups 21 and 16 were comparatively moderate in terms of mean scores on Avowed Militancy, and in terms of mean scores on Democratic Radicalism. Both groups were character-

ized by rather high Interest in University Politics, and by low-to-moderate feelings of efficacy in national politics. Respondents in Group 16, however, scored in the lower range on Cynicism, while respondents in Group 21 were _very_ Cynical (and were supporters of provincial parties other than the N.D.P.).

At the lower end of the continuum, in terms of willingness to endorse Democratic Radicalism, we find Groups 15,18 and 19,22 and 23. With the exception of Group 18, mean scores on Avowed Militancy are appropriately low.

Groups 22 and 23 share a low Interest in University Politics, and a moderate-to-high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics. Respondents in both groups support the Social Credit party provincially, or state no preference. The groups are differentiated by federal party preference, with federal Liberals indicating greater tolerance of Democratic Radicalism -- and greater willingness to endorse militant activity -- than federal Conservatives, Social Credit supporters, and non-identifiers.

Group 15 includes students who are comparatively disinterested in university politics, who feel moderately-to-highly efficacious in national politics, who identify with parties other than the Social Credit party provincially, and who score comparatively high on the Contentment scale.

Contentment also plays a rather important role in terms of differentiating Groups 18 and 19. Both groups

consist of individuals who are relatively disinterested in campus politics, and who do not feel very efficacious in national politics. They differ in one respect: Group 18 includes students who are comparatively discontented, while Group 19 includes students who score in the comparatively high Contentment range. The less contented group were less hostile towards Democratic Radicalism, and more willing to engage in militant activity.

As was the case with Organized Radicalism and Student Participation, group means on Democratic Radicalism were largely congruent with group means on Avowed Militancy. The characteristics which differentiated students in terms of scores on Democratic Radicalism were also useful in differentiating students on Avowed Militancy. Once again, however, the latter differentiation seemed to be somewhat blunt and was more successful with regards to the more "extreme" groups. Indeed, this was the case for all three typologies.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The research project on which this paper is based was undertaken with two major goals in mind: (a) the assessment of the content and structure of attitudes towards student power; and (b) the "explanation" of those attitudes in terms of factors which seemed to be causally important in terms of their development and/or maintenance. Further to this, it was hoped that student power attitudes them-selves -- in conjunction with certain political and "sentiment" explanatory factors -- could differentiate students in terms of their willingness to engage in various levels of more or less militant political behavior. With those goals in mind, it is appropriate that we present a concise summary of the major findings of the research.

(1) -- Our efforts to determine the content and structure of attitudes towards student power resulted in the development of ten attitude scales, which seemed to span a three-dimensional space. One of these dimensions appeared to be the student power attitude domain, and included the variables Anti-Radicalism, Administrative Student Power, Academic Student Power, Democratic Student Power, and Organizational Student Power. The second dimension appeared to

lie in the university "sentiment" domain, and included
the variables System Cynicism, Contentment, Aimlessness,
and Loneliness. The University Elitism variable seemed
to lie in a third, and unique, attitude area.

(2) -- A factor analysis of the student power
variables indicated that this attitude domain might be more
economically described in terms of three composite variables.
Specifically, attitudes towards radical students, and atti-
tudes towards an organized student movement seemed to be
relatively close in psychological "space"; this was true
also of attitudes towards student participation in admini-
strative and academic matters; a third interesting structural
feature involved the association of Democratic Student Power,
Pro-Radicalism, and Administrative Student Power. Accord-
ingly, three composite variables were created, based on
factor scores computed in the foregoing analysis. These
composite measures were named Organized Radicalism, Student
Participation, and Democratic Radicalism.

(3) -- Similarly, System Cynicism and Aimlessness
seemed relatively close in psychological space, as did Con-
tentment and Loneliness. Two composite variables -- subsumed
under the labels Cynicism and Contentment -- were created.

(4) -- An attempt was made to account for variations
on each of the three student power variables in terms of
group differences on Cynicism and Contentment, and group
differences on certain political variables. This met with

modest success. The results may be summarized briefly.

Positive attitudes towards Organized Radicalism were generally associated with the following major factors: higher levels of Cynicism, lower feelings of efficacy in campus politics, higher interest in campus politics, and N.D.P. party preferences. Negative attitudes towards Organized Radicalism were generally associated with the following factors: lower Cynicism, a high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics, lower levels of Interest in University Politics, high Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, and Conservative party preferences.

Higher Cynicism and higher Interest in University Politics also seemed to be associated with a greater concern for broader student participation in university decision making. Student Participation scores also tended to be inflated when Sense of Efficacy in National Politics was high, when federal party preferences were Liberal or not ascertained, and when provincial party preferences were other than Progressive Conservative. Comparatively little concern for Student Participation was associated with low Interest in University Politics, low Cynicism, Conservative party preferences, a low Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, and a high Sense of Efficacy in University Politics.

Positive attitudes towards Democratic Radicalism were explained largely by high Interest in University Politics, high Cynicism, provincial N.D.P. preferences, a high

Sense of Efficacy in National Politics, and low Content-
ment. Negative attitudes towards Democratic Radicalism
were associated with low interest in campus politics,
low Cynicism, provincial preferences other than the N.D.P.,
a low sense of political efficacy nationally, and high
Contentment.

(5) -- The typologies which resulted from the
analysis just described were utilized in an effort to
determine the extent to which attitudes towards Avowed
Militancy were congruent with attitudes towards each of
the student power factors. This was indeed the case, though
differentiations along the militancy continuum tended to be
somewhat blunt, compared with differentiations along each
of the student power axes. One suspects that other, un-
specified variables may be more important than the student
power typologies in terms of explaining potential militan-
cy.

In the matter of assessing the potential contribu-
tions of this research, one is tempted to make only modest
claims. From a theoretical perspective, the exercise in
scale development appears to have been an interesting --
though problematical -- venture into the murky waters of
construct validation and "psychological space". Whether
or not the scales will be of use to other researchers is a
debatable point. In some respects, the instruments appear
to have limited applicability in a wider context -- partic-

ularly to the extent that references are made to organiza-
tions such as the S.D.U., that seem to have become less
visible over the past several years. Nonetheless, the
fact that students seemed to differentiate between ideas
per se (i.e., student participation in decision making)
and the bearers of ideas (i.e., "radical students") is an
interesting finding in itself, and one worth exploring
further.

Also of some interest is the apparent key role
played by the Cynicism/Aimlessness constellation in terms
of the development of pro-radical and pro-participatory
attitudes. In terms of other "student power" studies,
this appears to be a rather unique finding, and one would
like to see both types of variables utilized in subsequent
studies of this sort. In particular, it seems rather curious
that the mistrust and skepticism which characterized items
in those scales should be associated with radical politics
and a desire for greater student participation in university
decision making. One might have expected Cynicism and Aim-
lessness to be associated with a more apolitical stance.
Further to this, it is interesting that personal satisfac-
tion played such a comparatively minor role in the attempted
explanation of student power attitudes.

Our findings with regard to the party preference
variables are also of some general interest. Generally,
New Democrats tended to be radical, and Progressive Conser-

vatives were indeed conservative. While the former outcome
was expected, it was not anticipated that Conservatives
would be so readily differentiated from supporters of other
political parties -- notably, Social Credit. This finding
is at variance with the way in which parties are often
ranked on the perennial liberal/conservative continuum.

From a "practical" point of view, it seems unlikely
that established university authorities will be dramatically
challenged by most of the 428 students in our sample. One
suspects that this is true for the general student popula-
tion at the university as well. At the same time, it is
apparent that large numbers of students appear to want a
greater voice in decisions affecting their lives. From
a normative perspective, we suggest that this is an inher-
ently worthy objective. It is desireable that individuals
should wish to maximize control over their own destinies,
and it is desireable that individuals should be interested
in and aware of the conditions under which education is pre-
sumed to take place.

This is not to suggest that the university has to
be "democratized" from top-to-bottom in order to accommodate
the legitimate aspirations of students. Nor does the uni-
versity have to be totally and rigidly hierarchical in order
to safeguard legitimate standards of academic excellence.
But it does seem that a reasonable balance could be struck
between the two extremes. We would suggest that such poss-

ibilities be examined --- particularly at the <u>classroom</u>

level, where much of the frustration seems to originate.

APPENDIX A

THE SAMPLE, THE RETURNS AND THE TOTAL

POPULATION: A COMPARISON

The three criteria for these comparisons were:
sex of the respondent, the faculty in which the respond-
ent was enrolled, and the number of years the respondent
had been in attendance at university.

On the basis of those three criteria, the sample
itself seemed to be an accurate model of the population as
a whole. Using the chi-square statistic to compare observ-
ed and expected frequency distributions over various cate-
gories, differences are minimal. As indicated in Tables
1, 2, and 3, "observed" sample frequencies deviated from
"expected" frequencies by magnitudes attributable to chance.
This was true for comparisons on sex, number of years at
university, and faculty.

The returns, in relationship to the sample, were
representative on criteria of sex and faculty, as shown
in Tables 4 and 5. But returns systematically deviated from
the sample on the criterion of number of years at university.
Table 6 shows the extent of this deviation. Those in
first, second, and third year were under-represented, while
those with four or more years were over-represented.

At first glance, this deviation seems easily ex-
plainable in terms of a presumed relationship between length
of tenure on campus, and increasing interest in and know-

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF SAMPLE DRAWN (N = 1,000) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY
POPULATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF SEX

Sex	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Male	588	597.8	-9.8	.1607
Female	372	362.2	+9.8	.2706
Total	960*	960.0*		$x^2=.4313$

Notes: *40 missing cases excluded
x^2 = .4313
df = 1
.70 > p > .50

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF SAMPLE DRAWN (N = 1,000) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY
POPULATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF FACULTY

Faculty	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Agriculture	23	24.0	-1.0	.0417
Arts	184	179.0	+5.0	.1397
B. Commerce	59	61.6	-2.6	.1097
Dentistry	21	13.2	+7.8	4.6091
Education	251	251.2	-0.2	.0002
Engineering	69	76.0	-7.0	.6447
Grad. Studies	109	118.6	-9.6	.7771
Law	18	16.0	+2.0	.2500
Medicine	29	26.2	+2.8	.2992
Pharmacy	17	15.0	+2.0	.2667
Physical Ed.	31	27.8	+3.2	.3683
Sciences	129	131.8	-2.8	.0595
Others	60	60.8	-0.8	.0105
Total	1,000	1,001.2		$x^2=7.5659$

Notes: *Bachelor of Commerce
x^2 = 7.5659   .90 > p > .80
df = 12

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF SAMPLE DRAWN (N = 1,000) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY
POPULATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF NUMBER OF YEARS IN
ATTENDANCE

Number of Years in Attendance	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
One year	319	333.7	-14.7	.6474
Two years	256	248.4	+7.6	.2325
Three years	186	191.6	-5.6	.1634
Four years	100	85.5	+14.7	2.4591
Five or more years	120	121.4	1.4	.0161
Total	981*	981*		$x^2 = 3.5187$

Notes: *19 missing cases excluded
x^2 = 3.5187
df = 4
.50 > p > .30

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO SAMPLE (N = 1,000) ON
CRITERION OF SEX

Sex	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Male	270	262.2	-7.8	.2320
Female	158	165.8	+7.8	.3669
Total	428	428		$x^2 = .5989$

Notes: x^2 = .5989
df = 1
.50 > p > .30

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO SAMPLE (N = 1,000)
ON CRITERION OF FACULTY

Faculty	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Agriculture	10	9.8	+0.2	.0041
Arts	94	78.8	+15.2	2.9320
B.Commerce	23	25.3	-2.3	.2090
Dentistry	11	8.9	+2.1	.4955
Education	103	107.4	-4.4	.1803
Engineering	24	29.5	-5.5	1.0250
Grad.Studies	41	46.7	-5.7	.6957
Law	8	7.7	+0.3	.0117
Medicine	22	12.4	+9.6	7.4322
Pharmacy	8	7.3	+0.7	.6712
Physical Ed.	7	13.3	-6.3	2.9840
Sciences	55	55.2	-0.2	.0007
Others	22	25.7	-3.7	.5327
Total	428	428		$x^2 = 17.1741$

Notes: *Bachelor of Commerce
x^2 = 17.1741
df = 12
$.20 > p > .10$

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO SAMPLE (N = 1,000) ON
CRITERIA OF NUMBER OF YEARS IN ATTENDENCE

Number of Years in Attendence	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
One year	114	139.2	-25.2	4.5621
Two years	96	111.7	-15.7	2.2067
Three years	75	81.1	-6.1	.4588
Four years	63	43.6	+19.4	8.6321
Five or more years	80	52.4	+27.6	14.5374
Total	428	428		$x^2 = 30.3971$

Notes: x^2 = 30.3971
df = 4
$p < .001$

ledge of campus issues. While this is not to be discounted

as a plausible explanation, it must be qualified in the light

of the comparison between the returns and the sample on the

criterion of faculty. If number of years in attendence

at university determines level of interest in university

issues, and if level of interest subsequently determines

one's propensity to complete and return the questionnaires,

then it seems reasonable to expect a particularly high

return ratio for graduate students. The data in Table 5

show that this was not the case. Graduate students, in fact

are slightly under-represented. Probably, number of years

at university is not the sole determinant of interest, or

of willingness to co-operate with the project. One suspects

that specific course of study may be a relevant variable as

well. In other words, graduate students in sociology may

manifest levels of interest different from graduate students

in English or History. This, of course, is mere speculation.

If the representativeness of the returns in terms

of the sample is called into question, even more question-

able is the representativeness of the returns in terms of

the total student population. Table 7 indicates that there

was no problem with the sex variable; differences between

observed and expected frequencies are attributable to chance.

There are systematic differences, however, for faculty and

number of years at university. Tables 8 and 9 indicate

the extent of these differences. For length of tenure at

TABLE 7

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY POPU-
LATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF SEX

Sex	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Male	270	266.5	+3.5	.0422
Female	158	161.5	-3.5	.0759
Total	$\overline{428}$	$\overline{428.0}$		$x^2=\overline{.1181}$

Notes: x^2 = .1181
df = 1
.80 > p > .70

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY POPU-
LATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF FACULTY

Faculty	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
Agriculture	10	10.3	-0.3	.0087
Arts	94	76.6	+17.4	3.9525
Commerce	23	26.4	-3.4	.4379
Dentistry	11	5.6	+5.4	5.2071
Education	103	107.5	-4.5	.1884
Engineering	24	32.5	-8.5	2.2223
Graduates	41	50.8	-9.8	1.8906
Law	8	6.8	+1.2	.0212
Medicine	22	11.2	+10.8	10.4143
Pharmacy	8	6.4	+1.6	.4000
Physical Ed.	7	11.9	-4.9	2.0176
Sciences	55	56.4	-1.4	.0348
Others	22	26.0	-4.0	.6154
Total	428	428.4		$x^2=27.2306$

Notes: x^2 = 27.2306
df = 12
.01 > p > .001

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF RETURNS (N = 428) TO TOTAL UNIVERSITY POPU-
LATION (15,290) ON CRITERION OF NUMBER OF YEARS IN
ATTENDANCE AT UNIVERSITY

Years in attendance	Observed Frequencies	Expected Frequencies	o-e	$(o-e)^2/e$
One	114	145.6	-31.6	6.4582
Two	96	108.4	-12.4	1.4185
Three	75	83.6	-8.6	.8847
Four	63	37.3	+25.7	17.7075
Five or more	80	52.9	+27.0	13.7675
Total	428	427.8		$x^2=40.6364$

Notes: x^2 = 40.6364
        df = 4
        p   .001

university, this is an expected difference in view of the

deviation between the returns and the sample. For faculty,

the differences appear to be a consequence of return pat-

terns confounding minor deviations between the sample drawn

and the total population. For example, students in the

faculty of Arts are slightly over-represented in the sample,

and this, coupled with a greater propensity for Arts stu-

dents to complete and return the questionnaires, increases

differences between observed and expected frequencies to a

point where chi-square attains statistical significance.

APPENDIX B

TABLE 1

ITEMS WITH EXTREME FREQUENCIES ELIMINATED FROM FINAL FACTOR ANALYSIS

Item	Agree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Disagree	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
The only way for a student to do well in this university system is to have friends among the faculty.	16	3.7	38	8.9	374	87.4
University administrators should consider themselves responsible to students as well as faculty for how they perform their jobs.	396	92.5	19	4.4	13	3.0
Matters such as parking problems and eating facilities are the only legitimate administrative concerns of university students.	12	2.8	35	8.2	381	89.0
It makes me very unhappy to think that so many of my good years -- my youth -- will be wasted in university.	18	4.2	33	7.7	377	88.1
Because they are only a part of the university for a few short years, students should not bother becoming concerned with university administration and course offerings.	7	1.6	21	4.9	400	93.5
Most university administrators are overpaid donothings who just keep the university from progressing.	14	3.3	131	30.6	283	66.1
University students could take more advantage of existing channels for complaints, such as individual lecturers and faculty-student committees.	352	82.2	59	13.8	17	4.0

TABLE 1 (cont.)

Item	Agree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Disagree	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Without full-time professional administrators, the university could not stay in operation.	363	84.8	50	11.7	14	3.3
What we need at this university is not student power, but more communication between professors and students.	325	75.9	85	19.9	18	4.2
Only naive, immature students would want to question the decisions of faculty and administration.	10	2.3	21	4.9	397	92.8
What we need at this university is not student power, but more communication between students and administrators.	336	78.5	81	18.9	11	2.6
Having a university degree doesn't necessarily make a person superior to others.	396	92.5	20	4.7	12	2.8
Some people just aren't capable of pursuing a university education.	362	84.6	40	9.3	26	6.1

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